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Australian Immigration 2001–2013

Exploring attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants

Evan Williams

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School of Politics and International Relations
Research School of Social Sciences
College of Arts and Social Sciences
Australian National University
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Declaration

I certify that this thesis contains no material which has been previously submitted for the award of any other degree at any university, and that, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously written by any other person except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

E. Williams

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Abstract

This research investigates public attitudes in Australia towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society and support for immigrants. It also examines attitudes towards asylum seekers, by investigating views concerning whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back. In the context of international theories dealing with attitude formation, this study examines the extent to which political affiliation, human capital and economic competition theories apply to the formation of attitudes towards regular immigrants in Australia and to what extent the same theories can be applied to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers.

This research focuses on the period 2001–2013, which saw significant policy change and attention given to migration issues. In the early 2000s, political elites of the two major parties in Australia abandoned the longstanding bipartisan approach to dealing with asylum seekers arriving in the country by boat and adopted different policies. By the time of the federal election in 2013, the two major parties had returned to a largely bipartisan view of how to respond to the arrival of asylum seekers. Such concentrated attention and policy change makes the period especially valuable to studies of migration and social cohesion.

Accepting that attitudes towards asylum seekers and other immigrants are multidimensional, this research investigates the role of partisanship, education, socioeconomic and other background factors in relation to attitudes towards both regular migrants and asylum seekers. Recognising the complex role of policy and the language of public debate in both reflecting and instigating public attitudes towards immigration, this study is positioned in the context of existing empirical research addressing the formation of attitudes. My research finds support for the idea that

strongly identifying with the political right, and having low levels of interest in politics, are both negatively associated with attitudes towards migrants in Australia. It also reveals a complex relationship between higher education and attitudes, and finds little evidence to suggest that economic considerations are at the core of attitude formation towards migrants in Australia.

This research also examines the role of specific knowledge about asylum issues in Australia in relation to attitudes towards asylum seekers, by using a bespoke quiz and survey of university students. The analysis reveals that among the students who hold highly favourable views towards asylum seekers there are many misperceptions about seeking asylum in Australia, a finding which adds to and complicates existing research that shows misperceptions concerning other kinds of migrants are generally correlated with unfavourable views.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

… our primary is in the mid 30s, we can't win an election with a primary like that and the issue of asylum seekers is an enormous reason why our primary is at that low level …

Deputy Prime Minster Julia Gillard
e-mail to Prime Minister Kevin Rudd
21 June 2010 (qtd. in Ferguson, 2015)

1.1 Introduction

Migrants who come to Australia fall into one of two categories: regular or irregular arrivals. Regular migrants are those people travelling under the regulatory norms of both the country they departed and Australia, while irregular migrants are those who fall outside international and Australian regulatory frameworks. Within both groups, there are individuals who seek asylum in Australia. Over the years, Australia has welcomed asylum seekers from various parts of the world: in the 1950s from war-torn Europe, in the 1970s from Vietnam, in the 1990s from Cambodia, Somalia and China, and more recently from the Middle East. Whatever their country of origin or reason for seeking asylum, asylum seekers have featured prominently in Australian politics and the question of how to respond to their arrival has been a prominent element of political debate.

Given that more than one-quarter of the Australian population was born abroad, it is perhaps unsurprising that immigration policy, generally, has been central to Australian political debate[1]. In the early twenty-first century, however, politicians, followed by the media and the broader public, gave particularly significant attention

[1] Some 28 per cent of the Australian population were born abroad at January 2015 – the highest percentage for 120 years (ABS, 2015b).

to the smallest source of irregular arrivals – the so-called 'boat people' (Boulus et al., 2013). This is a term that is often used to describe people arriving by boat with the intention of claiming asylum after they reach mainland Australia or one of its remote territorial islands. This is also the group of people who are most commonly identified as 'asylum seekers', even though that term applies to a broader group. 'Asylum seeker' is the legal term that defines individuals who seek protection, but whose claims for protection have not been processed (United Nations *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1951). The term may refer to migrants who arrive in a country by any means, including those who arrive on valid visas, and then choose to seek asylum. Those asylum seekers whose claims for protection are processed successfully are recognised as refugees, that is, persons entitled to international protection.

In the Australian debate concerning asylum seekers and asylum policy, several terms have taken on unusual prominence in addition to the term 'boat people'. These terms include 'queue jumpers,' 'irregular' or 'unlawful migrants,' 'clients,' and most recently 'illegals.' Though loaded with contextual meaning or implication, these terms are often used interchangeably by both media and political elites in frames of communication which relate to how asylum arrivals impinge on Australia's nationhood, sovereignty and national identity (Boulus et al., 2013; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; Pedersen et al., 2005). The terms are used with little consideration of their applicability to the people they are used to describe *or* with deliberate intent to shape public opinion through their use (Every & Augoustinos, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Mares, 2001; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; Schloenhardt, 2000; Van Dijk, 1999; Zetter, 2007). Research has shown that the particular terminology used by political elites to discuss

issues concerning immigrants, not just asylum seekers, and how classes of regular and irregular immigrants are distinguished from each other and from locally-born people, may contribute to the formation of attitudes (Triandafyllidou, 1998, 1999, 2010). Moreover, international research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy often points to political elites employing particular rhetoric and symbols to evoke specific reactions and activate attitudes favourable to their political purposes (Berg, 2013b; Edelman, 1985; Fussell, 2014; Stephan et al., 2005).

In this thesis, I examine attitudes towards both regular and irregular immigrants. In terms of irregular immigration, the focus is on the category of migrants who arrive in Australia *by boat* with the intention of seeking asylum. I have chosen to focus on this group of asylum seekers because they have featured prominently in political debate and the media over an extended period (Boulus et al., 2013). Throughout this thesis, I use the term ‘asylum seekers’ to refer to this group, even though the term ‘asylum seekers’ technically also includes individuals who arrive in the country by other means. The principal reason I have chosen to use this term is because the term ‘boat people’ may carry an element of derision (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). Furthermore, the use of the term ‘asylum seekers’ to refer to this group is pervasive in Australia (Betts, 2001; McKay et al., 2011), and the main data source used in this research also uses the term ‘asylum seekers’ to refer to those irregular immigrants arriving by boat. The terms ‘boat people’ and ‘asylum seekers’, however, are among a multitude of terms that have been used in public debate to refer these people. Therefore, a substantial portion of this research is dedicated to the language used to describe asylum seekers in Australia. I will introduce and discuss common terms, labels, and legal definitions concerning asylum seekers in Chapter 4.

Since immigration policy has been at the centre of political debate for much of the Australia's history (Cooper, 2012; see also Jupp, 2002), the ongoing discussion concerning asylum seekers is perhaps unsurprising. Moreover, the debate concerning asylum seekers is part of a larger immigration discussion concerning the kinds of people (skilled or unskilled, and how culturally and ethnically diverse they could or should be) and the overall number who should be allowed to immigrate to Australia. Yet, having a sharp political focus on asylum-boat arrivals may seem rather peculiar considering that historical averages (prior to 2013) suggest that less than four per cent of Australia's total annual immigrant intake arrives by boat, while twice as many asylum seekers arrive by plane (Karlsen & Phillips, 2010; Phillips, 2011; Phillips & Spinks, 2010). Notwithstanding the actual numbers, however, the media and political focus on those arriving by boat artificially inflates their significance in Australia's overall migration program.

Politicians' calls to 'stop the boats' surrounding federal elections held in Australia between 2001 and 2013, and 'stem the flow' of arrivals, have implications beyond those who seek to come to Australia by boat and claim asylum. In fact, the political debate around asylum seekers likely plays a role in shaping public perceptions of the number and frequency of boat arrivals, thus helping shape attitudes. Accepting this assumption, the formation of attitudes is a feedback loop between vocal members of the community, the media, and politicians, that potentially creates a wedge issue (Hetherington & Weiler, 2009; Knoll et al., 2011) among voters and a paradox among left-wing and moderate parties who struggle to differentiate their policies from the policies of right-wing parties (Lahav, 2009; Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001).

In Australia, which together with Canada ranks as one of "the most receptive to immigration among western countries" (Markus, 2014, p. 197), quantitative research suggests anti-immigration sentiments are high, though they have varied over the period 2001 to 2013 (later chapters will investigate recent data, however, for earlier analysis see Betts, 2001, 2002, 2008, 2010; Goot, 2001; Goot & Sowerbutts, 2004; Goot & Watson, 2011; Holtom, 2013; McAllister & Clark, 2012). The importance of immigrants, particularly asylum seekers, to political debate in Australia has been notable since the beginning of the twenty-first century, especially around the 2001, 2010 and 2013 federal elections (Cassidy, 2010; Errington & Van Onselen, 2007; Goot & Watson, 2011; Kelly, 2009; McAllister, 2003; Williams, 2012).

In the lead-up to the 2001 federal election, how to deal with asylum seekers arriving by boat was a prominent issue, when the incumbent right-leaning Liberal–National Coalition government campaigned on a platform of introducing strong measures to deter the arrival of asylum seekers. That government was returned to power in 2001 and boat arrivals decreased – though not necessarily because of the measures the government introduced (discussed in Chapter 4, p. 103). The left-leaning Labor Party took power in 2007 and lessened the severity or abandoned many of the measures that had been introduced by the previous government to deter asylum seekers from arriving by boat. In 2012, and in the lead-up to the 2013 federal election, boat arrivals increased, and the Labor Government abruptly changed its policies to deter asylum seekers from making the voyage to Australia and to, ostensibly, prevent lives being lost at sea. In effect, Labor adopted the policies of the Liberal–National Coalition government from more than a decade earlier. Irrespective

of the changes Labor made to its asylum policy, it was not returned to power in 2013.

Despite the fact the intake of regular immigrants increased over the first decade of the twenty-first century (see Chapter 4, p. 97), the relatively small number of asylum seekers arriving by boat sparked an exceptionally intense debate that led to changes in government policy concerning asylum seekers during the period. The intensity of this debate leads to the question whether there are other political motivations in introducing strong policy against asylum seekers, beyond a desire to protect Australia's borders. The political attention given to asylum seekers and asylum policy may, in fact, be driven by a desire to appear tough on immigration in general, operating on the assumption that voters will conflate the visible and tough policy on asylum seekers with general immigration policy, not realising that the annual intake of regular immigrants has increased (Burchell, 2003; Dunaway et al., 2010; McAllister, 2003).

In support of this argument, international research has shown that locally-born populations generally know little about actual immigrant numbers — both Europeans and Americans overestimate the number of immigrants in their respective communities (Citrin & Sides, 2008; McLaren & Johnson, 2007) — and hostility among locally-born populations towards immigrants tends to rise relative to *perceived* increases in the number of immigrants (Lahav, 2004; McLaren, 2001). Hence, from a political perspective, it makes sense to minimise attention given to immigrant arrival numbers, as doing so could lessen hostility in the community. In effect, if political elites appear to be tough on asylum seekers, they may also appear (by extension) to be tough on regular immigration. As the quote from then Deputy Prime Minister Julia Gillard to Prime Minister Kevin Rudd that was used to open

this chapter shows, political elites suspect attitudes in the electorate towards asylum seekers contribute to electoral outcomes. Gillard would go on to become Prime Minister three days after making that statement, being elected unopposed as Leader of the Labor Party, following Prime Minister Rudd's resignation (see generally McAllister et al., 2015).

The research presented in this thesis was conducted at a time when the Australian Government had acted to minimise media and public scrutiny of asylum seekers and refugee application processing by limiting public disclosure of the number of boat arrivals or military and customs action — such as turning boats back to their ports of origin — taken to prevent asylum seekers reaching mainland Australia and its territories such as Christmas Island. Practices including intercepting boats carrying asylum seekers at sea, relocating passengers to life rafts, or turning vessels around (ABC News, 2014a), following a promise made by the Liberal–National Coalition (who were in opposition) during the 2013 federal election campaign to 'stop the boats'. Much like the Liberal–National policy positions of the early 2000s, this promise was likely aimed to appeal to those voters who opposed asylum-boat arrivals and immigrants more generally (see Betts, 2003, 2005b; McAllister, 2003).

Following the 2013 election and the Liberal–National Coalition's victory, and in spite of government claims that the boats had been stopped, significant media coverage continued to be given to the issue (Karp, 2013) and the government's methods of fulfilling the promise to 'stop the boats' (ABC News, 2014c, 2015; Holtom, 2013; Lewis & Woods, 2014b). While much emphasis was placed on asylum seekers arriving by boat and the methods employed to deter and stop their travel to Australia during the period 2001 to 2013, the country's broader immigration

program has not been substantially changed as the intake of immigrants is inextricably tied to the country's economic growth (Pickering, 2014; Wright, 2013, 2014).

1.2 Research aims, case justification and period of focus

This thesis investigates factors associated with attitudes towards regular and irregular immigrants among a sample of Australians at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The aim of this research is to respond to growing interest in public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies, the bearing of political identification on attitudes towards immigrants, and the role of policy in creating cohesive societies. It is focused on enhancing knowledge surrounding attitudes towards immigrants in Australia and, through exploring theories concerning the formation of attitudes towards immigrants, contributes to the particularly under-explored area of how attitudes towards immigration and asylum seekers are related to political party identification. In order to achieve these outcomes, the following specific research objectives are addressed:

1. In order to investigate how attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants have changed over time, I conduct cross-sectional analysis of public opinion using data collected over a period of twelve years, 2001–2013.

2. I consider whether theories concerning the formation of attitudes towards immigrants, which have been developed principally in the United States and Europe, apply to the formation of attitudes towards regular immigrants in Australia. Based on existing literature in the field and identified research gaps, discussed in Chapter 2, I focus on the application of political affiliation, human

capital and economic competition theories to the study of attitudes towards immigration. I also examine to what extent these theories can be applied to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers.

3. I explore how particular social and background factors, such as gender, age, political identification, education, occupation and place of residence are associated with attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in general.

These factors have been chosen as a result of an analysis of the existing literature on the subject of attitudes towards immigrants. From my research aims and objectives, formal hypotheses are developed. The analytic framework of the thesis, with specific research questions and hypotheses, is presented in Section 1.3 of this chapter.

Attitudes towards immigration in Australia has been chosen for study principally because the Australian example provides a valuable and unique set of circumstances to enhance understanding of the bearing of political identification on attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers. Firstly, Australia is a mature democracy and has one of the highest levels of party identification; according to Mackerras and McAllister (1999) the high level of partisanship is the result of a compulsory voting system that requires all citizens over the age of eighteen to enrol to vote. Critics of compulsory voting insist that it reduces interest in politics and supports 'random' (Gratschew, 2004) and 'donkey voting' (JSCEM, 2005, p. 189). Advocates, however, claim that compulsory voting increases citizen interest and political engagement (Sheppard, 2015), and is naturally accompanied by high voter turnout (Bennett, 2005). Mackerras and McAllister claim that "compulsory voting ensures that voters cast a ballot and the act of voting means that they are forced to think, however superficially, about the major parties" (Mackerras and McAllister,

1999, p. 229), and so the Australian situation presents an opportunity to consider attitudes in relation to party identification and also levels of interest in politics and the outcome of elections.

Secondly, the two major party groupings, Labor and the Liberal–National Coalition present a left-right dichotomy that can be examined to reflect on existing research that looks at ideology in relation to attitudes (see for example Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Pedersen et al., 2005). This research will also contribute to those studies that look specifically at partisanship in relation to attitudes (Albertson & Gadarian, 2012; Hawley, 2011; Hopkins, 2014; Knoll et al., 2011).

A particularly under-explored issue is how political identification is related to attitudes, an issue that has been mostly overlooked (see Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014) in the context of research on attitudes towards immigrants. Bearing in mind that limited research has been conducted into partisanship and attitudes towards immigrants or asylum seekers, the Australian case allows an exploration of the relationships between political identification, the strength of that identification, and general interest in politics in a system that requires adult citizens to vote. In this context, I examine the relationship between partisanship and attitudes towards different aspects of regular immigration and attitudes towards asylum seekers.

Even in Australia, where partisan politics have played a prominent role in public debate concerning immigration policy, research into the role of political identification in relation to attitudes towards migrants is scarce. One notable study that touched on the role of politics and attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia is Pedersen et al. (2005). In that research, Pedersen et al. (2005) examined the relationship between placement on the ideological spectrum and attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia; they examined attitudes with a focused analysis of the

role of false beliefs, nationalism and self-esteem, while uncovering that left-right identification held significant relationships with favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, respectively (see also Bartels, 2000). This thesis expands on the research of Pedersen et al. by examining political party identification in Australia in connection to attitudes to both regular and irregular immigrants, and hence contributes to the further development of political affiliation theory.

In the context of this study, which examines respondents in only one political system, it is possible to consider political identification as a key variable in relation to attitudes. In cross national studies, that consider multiple political systems, ideology may be a more consistent, and hence useful, variable. Yet, from a survey respondent's point of view, left-right ideological leaning is a more nebulous concept than a behavioural measure of voting for a particular party or identifying with that political party – and respondents may feel more strongly left or right on different issues. Taking these factors into consideration, and that many survey respondents in the main data source used in this research appear to be challenged by questions relating to left-right ideology, decline to answer, identify as neutral, and misidentify the leanings of major political parties, which is discussed in Chapter 3 (see p. 64), this study will focus on political identification.

The main period of focus of this study is from the Australian federal election of 2001 to the election of 2013. This period has been chosen because asylum policy, as it applied to those people arriving by boat, was central to political debate at both the 2001 and 2013 elections and for most of the period between those years. The Australian Election Study (AES) has been chosen as the principal data source for this investigation because it assesses attitudes at the time of federal elections and contains several indicators concerning attitudes towards immigration, asylum

seekers, background factors, and other salient issues. Empirical analysis is performed on data from several iterations of the AES from 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013 (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005; Bean et al., 2008; Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011). Additional analysis concerning knowledge of asylum issues was also performed using data from a small-scale survey of university students (see Section 7.5, p. 182).

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

In the context of existing literature relating to the formation of attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers (see Chapter 2), my principal research question is:

> *Q1. To what extent do political affiliation, human capital and economic competition theories apply to the formation of attitudes towards regular immigrants in Australia?*

Addressing this question will position my research in the context of international immigration research, while potentially contributing to generalisable knowledge concerning the application of theory to attitudinal studies concerning immigration. The first, or principal, research question leads to the following questions:

> *Q2. To what extent, if at all, is it conceptually justifiable to apply theories dealing with attitude formation towards regular immigrants to the study of attitudes towards irregular immigrants, through an exploration of attitudes towards asylum seekers arriving by boat in the case of Australia?*

> *Q3. Do concerns about economic competition apply to both categories of regular and irregular immigration in Australia?*

Question 3 is particularly important to address in the context of international theory that has been developed in very different contexts to Australia. Irregular immigrants in the US, for example, far exceed the percentage of total population of immigrants

in Australia and form a significant portion of the labour market (Hanson, 2009). Irregular immigrants in Australia, by contrast, comprise a much smaller percentage of the overall population and relatively little attention is given to their role in the labour market (DIBP, 2013b).

Before answering the questions above, it is necessary to understand the social and political circumstances concerning immigration to Australia during the years described in this thesis. This leads to the following research question:

Q4. What is the political and social context of debate concerning regular and irregular immigrants, especially asylum seekers, in Australia?

This question will be addressed through an investigation of historical and current immigration policy in Chapter 4. Addressing this question is essential to establishing a context for understanding attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers in Australia. Insights into the historical context will allow for an examination of the political debate that has introduced so many confusing and sometimes conflicting terms concerning asylum seeking into the Australian vernacular.

It is possible that individual understanding of the topic is shaped by the myriad of terms used to address immigrants and asylum seekers in particular (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). Consequently, I will analyse the responses of a group of university students to a quiz that examines knowledge surrounding asylum seekers, and whether such knowledge is associated with attitudes. This leads to the final research question:

Q5. Does a high level of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers?

Research questions one to three have not been empirically tested over the period 2001 to 2013 in Australia, and are intentionally closely related in order to test whether the factors that are associated with attitudes towards regular immigrants and asylum seekers are similar. These questions will be addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Additionally, question five will deliver a unique contribution to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers, and will be investigated using a quiz targeting university students to determine if there is a relationship between high levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia *and* attitudes towards asylum seekers. This question will be addressed in the latter part of Chapter 7.

Based on existing research and the data that is available for study, I formulated the following hypotheses. The first group of hypotheses relate to research questions one, two and three, which will be answered drawing on survey data:

H1: Low income, low education, and working in non-professional occupations will have negative relationships with attitudes towards immigrants, which will confirm the applicability of economic competition theory to the Australian situation.

H2: University educated individuals will hold more favourable views towards asylum seekers and immigrants than non-university educated individuals, confirming human capital theory.

H3. Individuals with lower levels of political knowledge and interest will hold more unfavourable views towards both asylum seekers and immigrants compared to those who have higher levels of political knowledge and interest.

H4: Strongly identifying with the Australian political right will correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in line with existing research that has identified a left-right division. In effect, strong party identification will compound the effect of partisanship.

Survey measures will be identified that can be used to explore these questions and test the hypotheses. This process is known as *operationalisation* (Bryman & Cramer, 1994): the process by which the researcher renders the theoretical concepts into things that can be measured. These hypotheses have not been empirically tested in the Australian context, with existing Australian research introducing theories concerning attitudes that sit outside the theoretical considerations of European, American and Canadian research. Noting that this research will investigate attitudes towards regular immigrants and asylum seekers using quantitative data, the testing of these hypotheses will allow for a conclusion to be drawn concerning whether the same factors are associated with attitudes towards both groups. This is important as some Australian research (McAllister, 2003) has suggested that individuals may not distinguish between asylum seekers and immigrants. If this is true, then factors associated with attitudes towards both groups should be similar.

Research question four does not have a testable hypothesis and is being used to establish the historical context for this research. One additional hypothesis is proposed, which arises from research question five:

> *H5: High levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues will correlate with more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.*

The final hypothesis will be tested using a purpose-designed quiz. Research has indicated that low levels of knowledge of specific issues concerning immigration correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants (Pedersen et al., 2005). Bearing in mind that high educational attainment has been shown to be strongly correlated with favourable attitudes towards immigrants (Rustenbach, 2010) and asylum seekers (Pedersen et al., 2005), this research will test whether a low level of knowledge about asylum seeking in Australia, among those in the process of

attaining higher education, is related to unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers. Consequently, I will test the knowledge of university students concerning asylum seeking in Australia, and measure respondents' attitudes towards asylum seekers using the same question that has been asked in several iterations of the AES.

1.4 Thesis outline

In Chapter 2, I present an overview of the major theories in the literature concerning attitudes towards immigration. Various theories have been developed by sociologists, psychologists and political scientists to understand why and how individuals form particular attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies. I concentrate on political affiliation theory, human capital and economic competition theory which are tested further in my thesis. I also discuss Australian research into attitudes towards regular and irregular immigrants. Attention is drawn to the fact that the theoretical literature tends to focus on attitudes towards regular immigrants and minority groups rather than asylum seekers, and that the literature is unclear whether attitudes towards asylum seekers should be treated as analytically distinct from attitudes towards other immigrants.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology of this thesis. In this chapter, I discuss the benefits and limitations of using survey research as a method of social inquiry. I then explain why the AES was chosen for this research, describe the AES sample and present frequency distributions for key social and demographic background factors including education, occupation, gender, age, and political identification. After introducing these frequencies, I present how the empirical analysis will proceed, describe the techniques and methods used for the empirical analysis, and introduce a factor analysis of key variables used in this research.

In Chapter 4, I explore the social and political context in which debates on immigration and asylum seeking have taken place in Australia, policies of successive Australian Governments concerning both immigration in general and asylum seekers, and the ramifications these policies have had for Australian society. The objective of the chapter is to build a picture of the slow shift in immigration policy in Australia: from the restrictionist policies of pre-federation times; to the period after the Second World War, which saw the end of the White Australia policy; to more recent times when immigration policies were driven, firstly, by defence and economic imperatives, and secondly, by humanitarianism; to the present tough stance on irregular arrivals in the context of a large-scale regular migration program. In detailing these policy changes, I reflect on the language that is used to describe and discuss migration issues, and how this language can influence public opinion. The chapter concludes by referring to the few attempts that have been made to investigate attitudes towards asylum seekers until relatively recently.

In Chapter 5, I explore attitudes towards immigrants drawing on cross-sectional data from the AES. I begin by describing responses to seven measures concerning attitudes towards immigrants and immigration that have been asked consistently in the AES since 2001. I also construct two additive scales to use as dependent variables concerning attitudes towards different aspects of immigration and discuss these in relation to their component measures.

Chapter 6 considers attitudes towards immigrants measured against several explanatory factors. In particular, dependent variables are examined for attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, and support for immigrants (measured through perceptions of equal opportunities for immigrants). The formation of attitudes towards immigrants has been the subject of

several empirical studies within political science and several theories have been developed offering different explanations for attitudes. The first part of this chapter presents my empirical findings concerning the relationship between party identification and attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society – this dependent variable is taken as an example to show the relationship between party identification and attitudes. In the second part of the chapter, I consider the relationship between several factors in relation to attitudes towards the three immigration dependent variables in the context of the hypotheses presented earlier in this Introduction. Finally, I conclude the chapter drawing out connections in reference to existing studies.

In Chapter 7, I focus on attitudes towards asylum seekers. I begin by introducing what is known about attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia based on AES data. Following this introduction, I consider the same factors described in the previous chapter and their applicability to attitudes towards asylum seekers in light of existing research which has, predominantly, concerned attitudes towards regular immigrants and whether this research has conceptual applicability to a study of attitudes towards asylum seekers. Noting the significant relationship between higher education and attitudes towards asylum seekers, I also investigate the function of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia in relation to attitudes among university students.

In the final chapter, Chapter 8, I summarise the main findings of the research and how these findings can be related to the results of other research into attitude formation and immigration more widely. My research finds support for the idea that strongly identifying with the political right, and having low levels of interest in politics, are both negatively associated with attitudes towards migrants in Australia.

It also reveals a complex relationship between higher education and attitudes, and finds little evidence to suggest that economic considerations are at the core of attitude formation towards migrants in Australia. Additionally, in examining the role of specific knowledge about asylum issues in Australia, the research finds that among a sample of students who hold highly favourable views towards asylum seekers, there are many misperceptions about seeking asylum in Australia – a finding which adds to and complicates existing research that shows misperceptions concerning other kinds of migrants are generally correlated with unfavourable views. I then conclude by discussing the contribution this thesis makes to the field of political science and suggest directions that future research on attitude formation and immigration policy may take.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical overview

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of significant literature relating to the study of attitudes towards immigrants, to identify gaps in the literature and to demonstrate how I can contribute to this field. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to an overview of the major theories. I begin by presenting general approaches and perspectives, focusing on the major arguments and the most prominent theories in the literature. In this overview, I integrate into the discussion experimental methodologies that have been used in political science to examine causal processes in attitude formation. Against this background, I discuss in more detail the theories that are central to this thesis — human capital, economic competition and political affiliation theories — and justify the examination of these theories in the Australian context.

At the outset, it must be noted that various theories have been developed in the social science disciplines in order to enhance understanding concerning why and how individuals form attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies. In their reviews, scholars summarise and categorise theories on immigration attitudes differently (Berg, 2015; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Markaki & Longhi, 2013; Rustenbach, 2010). For example, Markaki and Longhi (2013) in their review of attitudes towards immigration in European countries, distinguish two broad theoretical categories concerning attitude formation: 1). social-psychological, affective or ideological explanations and; 2). rational-based group and labour market competition theories. Berg (2015) takes a different approach and places theories on

immigration attitudes into five categories: personal and social identity, self and group interest, cultural values and beliefs, social interaction, and less common multilevel theories that explain attitudes through the multiplicative effects of several factors.

There are shared concepts among the theories and there is not one that provides a definitive explanation of attitudes. Further, research outcomes can vary significantly depending on what factors are considered and whether interactions between factors are taken into account. This thesis argues for contributory factors in attitude formation above a single definitive explanation. It follows the assumption that attitudes are complex, they are formed based on cognitive assessment as well as emotional reactions (Berg, 2009, 2015; Schuman, 1997), and develop in the specific contexts of social interactions, political circumstances and historical situations.

For the purpose of this overview I divide my literature review into two groups of theories: theories that operate on perceptions of difference (for example, group threat theory, contact theory or cultural marginality theory) and the theories that aim at providing socioeconomic and political explanations for attitudes. This second group of theories include the theories this thesis is focused on and whose application in the Australian context it tests: human capital, economic competition and political affiliation theories.

The chapter is organised in the following way. First, I discuss attitudinal theories associated with perceptions of group threat, many of which stem from the work of Allport (1954), and briefly introduce cultural threat theories. Second, I consider theories which aim at socioeconomic and political explanations: I present the most widely examined theory in relation to immigrants, which is human capital theory, and introduce economic competition theory which is often associated with it.

Then I present and discuss studies that examine, or build on, political affiliation theory (Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993), and I highlight the need for more research in this area. Finally, I discuss studies specifically related to attitudes towards immigrants in Australia.

2.2 Perceptions of difference in attitude formation

A major stream of attitudinal research focuses on social or group identity theories, which generally imply that identifying with a group, or distinguishing between one's own group and other groups, can lead to in-group favouritism and, consequently, out-group stereotypes (Glynn et al., 2004) or perceptions of threat (Krysan, 2000; Quillian, 1995; Raijman et al., 2003). According to Fussell (2014), research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy is rooted, generally speaking, in Allport's (1954) perspective on prejudice. Allport (1954) claimed that in-groups are "psychologically primary" and thus that "the familiar is preferred" to anything alien (Allport, 1954, p. 42). Negative attitudes towards out-groups, including immigrants, can be reinforced by, for example, the desire to maintain hierarchical relationships and power differences between groups, as social dominance theory claims (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2004), or to ensure conformity to in-group norms and values, as right-wing authoritarian orientation theory claims (see for example, Altemeyer, 1988, 1996; Duckitt, 1989, 2001; Duckitt et al., 2002; Thomsen et al., 2008).

At the same time, and also building on Allport's (1954) research, Brewer (1999) suggests that "ingroup love [an attachment to one's own group] is not a necessary precursor of outgroup hate" (1999). That is, an in-group preference does not necessarily lead to negative attitudes towards out-groups. Moreover, as Card et

al. (2005) indicate, pursuit of social identity *can* lead to positive attitudes towards out-groups, "if the native [locally-born] group's identity is strongly linked to notions of fairness, equality, or social justice" (2005, p. 10). Social and group identity theories are associated with contact and group threat theories, and cultural marginality theory.

Contact theory was originally proposed by Allport (1954) to describe how personal interaction between individuals from one group with individuals from an alien group will likely have the tendency to *decrease* negative feelings, and reduce prejudice, towards the latter group. Allport claimed that individuals can hold misconceptions about others "based on a faulty and inflexible generalization" (1954, p. 9) resulting from a lack of contact. Consequently, interaction between different groups should lead to the formation of positive attitudes between the groups (see also Hood & Morris, 1997; McLaren, 2003). This is a well-developed approach and empirically supported (see Allport, 1954; Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000; Bittner & Tremblay, 2011; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Campbell et al., 2006; Dovidio et al., 2005; Fetzer, 2000; Hawley, 2011; Hood & Morris, 1998; Hood et al., 1997; Jackman & Crane, 1986; McLaren, 2003; Quillian, 1995; Rustenbach, 2010). However, to have positive intergroup contact, certain conditions need to be met (Pettigrew, 1998). Berg (2015) stresses that although researchers have examined various conditions of contact, the literature most often relies on four conditions identified by Allport (1954). Allport suggests that positive effects of intergroup contact occur if there is: equal-group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and institutional support (1954, esp. p. 281). Some scholars have argued, however, that even if positive effects occur, they may not be permanent. Examining these arguments in the context of immigration to Spain in 1991–2000, Escandell and Ceobanu (2009) found that

"over time, close contact with migrants becomes a weaker predictor of reduced foreigner exclusionism" (2009, p. 44). In a separate study, Fetzer (2000) developed the theory to suggest that if locally-born people come into contact with immigrants in a superficial way, without developing friendships or closer relationships, there will likely be *increased* suspicion and hostility (see also Rustenbach, 2010).

Fetzer's theory is sometimes referred to as group position theory or group threat theory (Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 1995), which suggests that different demographic groups "in close contact with each other tend to exhibit higher levels of hostility toward each other because of their [real or imagined] competition for scarce resources"(Hawley, 2011, p. 405). Real or imagined competition between groups, and perceived threats (Alba et al., 2005), can lead to generalisations about groups, including prejudice (Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 1995) and, subsequently, to negative attitudes towards immigration (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Lee & Ottati, 2002; Pearson, 2010; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Pichler, 2010). Perceived group threat theory, then, is associated with a 'power threat hypothesis' (Blalock, 1967), which suggests that the threat increases with the size of an out-group. It is also connected to what has been referred to as a 'politicised places hypothesis'. Developed by Hopkins (2010), this hypothesis suggests that attitudes differ based on the speed with which immigrants arrive and whether this change is accompanied by significant national discussion about immigrants. Hopkins observes that "when communities are undergoing sudden demographic changes at the same time that salient national rhetoric politicizes immigration, immigrants can quickly become the targets of local political hostility" (2010, p. 40).

Perceived group threat can be associated with rhetoric used by political elites and the media. Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) argue that "[c]hanging elite and

media rhetoric provides a source of dynamic variation for theoretical approaches that might otherwise yield static predictions"(2014, p. 10). In order to test the effects of changed rhetoric and to identify a relationship between anxiety concerning migrant groups with immigration more generally, Brader et al. (2008) conducted a survey experiment that manipulated the tone of a newspaper article and the presentation of immigrant groups in the United States. Their findings suggest that when immigrants are presented in a negative light, respondents display more anxiety and become more concerned about immigration as a consequence compared to those in the control group. Along similar lines, Gadarian and Albertson (2014) found that people disproportionately recall threatening information about migrants, which has the potential to raise anxiety. Further, Maio's (1994) research demonstrates that individuals cued with positive information express more positive attitudes compared to respondents who were exposed to negative information.

According to Berg (2015), group threat perspectives appear "to be the most well supported theory in the literature, both in the United States and in Europe" (Berg, 2015, p. 26; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Fussell, 2014). Both group threat theory and contact theory attempt to explain attitudes of one group towards another, but, as Fussell (2014) stresses, they "differ in their conceptualization of what causes prejudice" and how prejudice is understood (see also Allport 1954; Blumer 1958). These theories have been tested empirically with varying results (Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Campbell et al., 2006; Hood & Morris, 1998), and self-selection bias into surveys studying these phenomenon is considered to be a major criticism of these theories (Berg, 2009; McPherson et al., 2001).

Another prominent theory, which operates on perceptions of difference, is cultural marginality theory, sometimes known as cultural threat theory (Buckler et

al., 2009; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Hood et al., 1997; Rustenbach, 2010). This theory suggests that the locally-born population will more likely have negative attitudes towards immigrants who they cannot relate to as a result of having different cultures (Buckler et al., 2009; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Hood et al., 1997; Rustenbach, 2010). Drawing attention to the significance of cultural factors, Lucassen and Lubbers (2012) argue that perceived threats to cultural identity "are more likely to evoke exclusionary reactions than those [related] to economic well-being" (2012, p. 547); see also Sniderman et al. (2004).

While perceived threats may result from distinct values, norms, religions, languages, traditions or experiences, difference can also result owing to affinity, or sympathy, between groups. That is, cultural affinity can exist between immigrants and those members of a society who themselves belong to culturally marginalised groups. In this vein, Hayes and Dowds (2006) suggest that individuals from culturally marginalised groups are more likely to hold favourable attitudes towards immigrants (see also Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; 2006, p. 466).

As can be seen, there are many theories dealing with attitudes relating to perceptions of threat and hostility. With such wide ranging theories, many of which have been empirically tested many times, I will focus on socioeconomic and political theories, where it is possible to make a contribution to the literature. Below, I discuss in more detail those theories that attempt to provide socioeconomic and political explanations in relation to immigration attitude formation, and which are tested in the Australian context further in the thesis. I discuss both prevalent approaches, i.e. human capital theory and economic competition theory, and the understudied (and underdeveloped) political affiliation theory.

2.3 Socioeconomic and political explanations for attitudes

There is substantial research that attempts to explain how economic factors, such as labour market competition or competition for public services, determine attitudes towards immigration and immigration policies (see for example Berry & Soligo, 1969; Borjas, 2003; Card et al., 2005; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). These theories belong to approaches that suggest personal interests explain attitudes towards immigration (Markaki & Longhi, 2013). Among the most prominent theories in political science concerning attitude formation towards immigrants, human capital theory is the most empirically tested (see generally Card et al., 2012; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin et al., 1997; Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Fetzer, 2000; Gang et al., 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Mayda, 2006; Rustenbach, 2010). Human capital theory suggests that educated people express positive attitudes towards immigrants because they do not perceive immigrants as a threat in the labour market, and/or because they are generally more tolerant of different races and cultures, have a more international outlook (Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin et al., 1997; Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Fetzer, 2000; Gang et al., 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Rustenbach, 2010) or lower ethnocentrism (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Weiss, 1995). It has also been argued, counter to the theory, that individuals with higher levels of education simply give more socially desirable answers on surveys, disguising their true beliefs (Bittner & Tremblay, 2011) and presenting themselves as more tolerant (Knudsen, 1995).

The main school of thought behind human capital theory is that education is linked to pro-immigrant attitudes because those with a university education have a level of skill that ensures they do not have to compete with immigrants for jobs and,

as a result, do not see them as a threat (Mayda, 2006). In this sense human capital theory is closely linked with economic competition theory which suggests that lower-skilled locally-born workers — measured through education attainment — will have anti-immigrant attitudes perceiving that they are in competition with low-skill immigrants for employment and resources (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Chandler and Tsai (2001) posit, in the context of their research in the US, that college education and perceived cultural threats related to the English language strongly correlate with attitudes towards both regular and irregular immigrants. In this sense, human capital theory can also be linked to group/cultural threat theory discussed above.

Research has considered the effects of economic conditions and perceptions of increasing immigration on the rise of anti-immigration sentiment (Gang et al., 2002; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). For example, economic self-interest models suggest that people form attitudes towards immigrants based on how they perceive their economic interests will be affected by immigration (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996). In looking at attitudes in the United States, Scheve and Slaughter (2001) considered a factor proportion model. This model assumes the perfect substitutability of migrants and locally-born workers, and that an influx of low-skilled immigrants will increase the supply of labour, consequently reducing wages or employment opportunities for low-skilled workers and, at the same time, increasing the wages of high-skilled workers. Scheve and Slaughter (2001) argued that immigration attitudes are at least partly established in material self-interest and hypothesise that individuals among the locally-born population anticipate the economic effect of immigration in line with the factor proportion model. Drawing on survey data, they found that low-skilled workers are more likely than high-skilled workers to oppose

immigration (see also Card et al., 2005). This supports the factor proportion hypothesis which assumes that when responding to questions about immigration, respondents have low-skilled immigrant workers in mind.[1]

Mayda (2006) arrived at a similar finding that suggests fears about labour market competition are intrinsic to attitudes towards immigration policy, and thus that "economic variables play a key and robust role in preference formation over immigration policy" (2006, p. 2). Similarly, societal attachment theory suggests some individuals among the locally-born population blame minority groups, often immigrant groups, for social problems such as high unemployment (Hooghe et al., 2006, 2009; Van Dijk, 2000). However, while some researchers find strong evidence for the role of economic self-interest in shaping people's attitudes towards immigration (see for example Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Fetzer, 2000; Malchow-Møller et al., 2006) others find that, for example, fear of losing work has minimal effect on attitude formation (Fennelly & Federico, 2008; Ilias et al., 2008; Markaki & Longhi, 2013; Scheepers et al., 2002; Wilson, 2001).

Questioning theories of economic competition, Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) argue that economic models, such as the factor proportion model described above, depend on multiple specific assumptions. These include assumptions about the substitutability of labour, factor mobility, and country size. They argue that the factor proportion model can only be tested when the skill level of immigrants is explicitly stated in the data collection process: questions need to be asked that specify the employment type of the immigrant to properly address this model. Further, they argue that anti-immigration attitudes persist although the wage effects

[1] For discussion on the skill level of immigrants in Australia, see Antecol et al. (2003).

of migration are small or non-existent, and that economists do not share the view that low-skilled migration will have negative economic repercussions for low-skilled workers.

In the Australian context, it appears that regular and irregular migration have not had negative economic consequences. The economic situation in Australia was reasonably stable across the period 2001 to 2013, even taking into account the doubling of net overseas migration (see Figure 4.2, p. 98), the global financial crisis (Louis et al., 2007; Pickering, 2014) and the decline in the mining sector (which occurred towards the end of the period 2001–2013), while anti-immigration sentiment increased early in the period (Betts, 2005a; McAllister, 2003). This calls into question the relevance of economic conditions and labour market concerns to attitude formation and it, thus, seems likely that other factors hold greater explanatory power in the Australian context. Even so, the debate is far from resolved and this is an important area in which I can make a contribution by examining the relationship between socioeconomic factors and attitudes.

In light of current research, there is little doubt that educational attainment is highly correlated with favourable attitudes towards immigrants in addition to its role as a factor in analysis that places emphasis on skill level and labour market competition. Nevertheless, Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) warn against education level being taken as *the* measure of skill in studies that consider the role of the skill level of respondents in connection to attitudes; they consider education to be "a crude measure of skill" (2014, p. 228) as it can be related to a variety of other factors that can readily account for its correlation with pro-immigration attitudes. They also speculated that education as it correlates to pro-immigration attitudes might reveal more about the individuals who opt into higher education (Hainmueller & Hopkins,

2014, p. 228) than about education itself (see also Janmaat, 2016; Twenge et al., 2015).

Looking at the role of education in attitudes formation from yet another perspective, Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) argue that individuals with high levels of education are more likely to have positive attitudes towards immigrants regardless of the level of skill or ethnic origin of immigrants. They suggest that the correlation between education and support for immigration stems from "differences in cultural values [of educated people] and beliefs about immigration's sociotropic impacts" (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014, p. 228). According to this approach, respondents with higher educational attainment exhibit lower levels of ethnocentrism, place more emphasis on cultural diversity, in addition to being more optimistic about the economic impacts of immigration (Card et al., 2012; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin et al., 1997; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Owing to these concerns about education, I consider several kinds of educational attainment, and the role of occupation category and income in relation to attitudes.

Less prominent in the literature is political affiliation theory (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Rustenbach, 2010). Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) suggest that locally-born citizens who become politically alienated, based on an analysis of perceptions of and willingness to vote for an independent candidate in the 1992 US presidential election and voter enrolment status, may develop more negative attitudes towards immigrants. In their study, Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) also included analysis of respondents' placement on a liberal-conservative scale. Since the time of their study, several scholars have also examined ideological position in relation to attitudes (see Pedersen et al., 2005; Rustenbach, 2010), but there is not a single consistent approach to studying the relationship between political ideology and

attitudes towards immigration. Nor is there a single consistent approach to the study of the relationship between party identification and attitudes towards immigration. Describing the situation in the United States as "surprisingly silent", Hainmueller et al. (2014, p. 237) noted that there is little empirical investigation into the value and effect of partisanship on attitudes towards immigration. Research by Knoll et al. (2011) in the United States is a notable exception to this lack of focus on partisanship in the literature; they conducted a framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Goffman, 1974) experiment to show that respondents identifying as Republican who believe immigration is an important issue, in the US State of Iowa, responded differently when exposed to a treatment identifying immigrants as Mexicans compared to other groups.

Most commonly, political leaning has been linked to immigration attitudes with those on the left more likely to hold positive views (see Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012; Pedersen et al., 2005; Rustenbach, 2010). Conversely, right-wing preferences are often linked with more conservative approaches, negative attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups, nationalist sentiments and racism; Lucassen and Lubbers (2012) observe that "[t]he unique selling point of far-right parties is their anti-immigrant or anti-immigration standpoint" (2012, p. 547). Indeed, in the literature, right-leaning individuals have been shown to hold less favourable attitudes towards immigrants relative to those on the left (see for example Fennema & van der Brug, 2003; Gorodzeisky, 2011; Ivarsflaten, 2006; McLaren, 2003; Raijman et al., 2003; Semyonov et al., 2008; Thränhardt, 2002; van der Brug & Fennema, 2007). Additionally, Rustenbach (2010) claims that general "interest in politics is correlated with […] lower anti-immigrant sentiments" (2010, p. 57). Hence, apart from one's left-right political leaning, overall interest in politics and

political involvement (Rustenbach, 2010, pp. 57-64) can be important in explaining immigration attitudes.

People who have trust in the political system and its institutions tend to have more tolerant attitudes towards immigrants, because they do not perceive as many threats to their situation as those who are dissatisfied with the politics of the country (Paas & Halapuu, 2012). Similarly, political tolerance is significant and positively correlated with attitudes on immigration. Examining the influence of political tolerance on attitudes on immigration in Europe, Kehrberg (2007) argues that a high level of political tolerance, including support for the civil rights of immigrants, decreases the probability of having negative attitudes towards immigration (2007, p. 267). His results show that a lack of political tolerance "increases the probability of not believing your country benefits from immigration by 19.6%" (Kehrberg, 2007, p. 274).

Individuals who value individualism or ethnocentrism, and can be associated with political conservatism, are more likely to hold anti-immigrant attitudes and support more restrictive immigration policies (see also Buckler et al., 2009; Citrin & Wright, 2009; Fussell, 2014; Haubert & Fussell, 2006). Political identification can be reinforced by symbolic politics, that is, political actors exploiting political symbols to increase support for their political aims, such as more restrictive immigration policies (Fussell, 2014). According to symbolic politics theory, latent political values can surface at particular times, especially when political party elites use political symbols (Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Sears, 1997) and voice their negative concerns about immigrants (Berg, 2015, p. 27). Immigration attitudes become significantly more negative and restrictionist views more prevalent in the case of

regions with growing immigrant populations, and "especially at times when immigration is capturing national headlines" (Hopkins, 2010, p. 56).

An experimental study by Lahav and Courtemanche (2012), which considered the effects of policy statements on American undergraduates, found that even left-leaning respondents — who typically show more positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy — will support more restrictive immigration policies, when the issue of migration is framed as a national security issue. Along similar lines, Merolla et al. (2013) found that specific frames around immigration, including a discussion of national security, could mobilise respondents for whom the issue already has relevance. While it is not stated by Merolla et al. (2013), their finding builds on the media analysis of Sniderman et al. (2004, p. 36) who argued that situational triggers, tested in the context of framing experiments, may galvanise or make stronger the feelings of those already concerned about an issue.

Investigating how political articulation relates to anti-immigrant attitudes in 26 European countries, Bohman (2011) found that messages expressed by both traditional left- and right-wing parties have an effect on immigration attitudes (2011, pp. 457, 471). This is where individual political interest and identification become relevant, as it may determine the degree of influence of political articulation. The relationship between political interest and being susceptible to messages articulated by political elites is not, however, unambiguous. Bohman (2011) asserts that while less politically interested individuals typically do not pay attention to political messages, "assuming that political articulation influences anti-immigrant attitudes through increasing immigrant visibility and legitimizing such attitudes, limited interest in politically differentiated positions may reinforce rather than reduce such effects" (2011, p. 461).

Apart from political interest, Bohman (2011) pointed to political ideology as the second feature that moderates the effect of political parties' rhetoric, and built understanding of ideological positioning by asking whether and how positions moderate the effect of political articulation (2011, p. 462). In the Australian context, Pedersen et al. (2005) examined — with a focused analysis of the role of false beliefs, nationalism and self-esteem — the relationship between placement on the political spectrum and attitudes towards asylum seekers. They revealed that left-right identification held significant relationships with favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, respectively (see also Bartels, 2000).

Assuming, as Bohman did (2011), that individuals are more open to messages expressed by political elites they trust and identify with (Lupia, 1994; Lupia & McCubbins, 1998; Zaller, 1992), political identification appears to be an important factor in understanding the formation of immigration attitudes. With respect to Americans' views of immigrants, Hawley (2011) claimed that the effect of partisanship on individual views on immigration is context dependent. He concluded that "partisanship is a weak predictor of immigration views" (Hawley, 2011, p. 404) in areas where immigration levels are low, however it becomes more significant as the foreign-born population increases: "the effect of being a Republican, Democrat, or Independent on individual views on immigration policy varies depending on the size of the local immigrant population" (Hawley, 2011, p. 420). Fussell (2014) reiterated these results in the American context, claiming that rapidly growing immigrant populations activate political partisanship and party affiliation further activates processes of attitude formation.

In another experiment in the US, Albertson and Gadarian (2012) examined the effect of political alignment and advertising which position immigrants as

threatening. They found that a threatening advertisement led to more punitive attitudes among white Republicans. The effects of this study may be described as "galvanising" — to use Sniderman et al.'s (2004, p. 36) terminology: respondents' views are strengthened, or galvanised, by a treatment which adopts a negative position or alerts respondents to an issue or group they are predisposed to oppose. Another US example is research by Hopkins (2014) who found that exposing respondents to spoken Spanish reduced support for a pathways to citizenship program among Republicans predisposed to oppose Mexican immigrants. In a Swiss survey experiment, Hainmueller and Hangartner (2013) found that respondents are more likely to reject immigrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia than from elsewhere in Europe, following the negative representation of these groups by political parties and the media. There is also evidence to suggest that the effects can move beyond galvanising existing positions to mobilising hostility (Neiman et al., 2006). Notably, Neiman et al. (2006) described the potential of an issue like immigration to be used as "a wedge to attract support [for Republicans] from people who tend to support Democratic candidates" (2006, p. 35).

While these studies suggest political identification is salient in the formation of immigration attitudes, it remains a particularly under-explored issue (see Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014) in the context of research on attitudes towards immigrants. Even in Australia, where partisan politics have played a prominent role in public debate concerning immigration policy, research into the role of political identification in relation to attitudes towards migrants is scarce, which makes this a critical factor to examine in relation to attitudes towards immigration.

2.4 Australian research concerning the formation of attitudes towards asylum seekers

Most research on attitude formation towards irregular migrants has taken place in Europe or North America, leaving attitudes in Australia largely under-researched. There has been some criticism concerning the lack of systematic research on immigration and public opinion in Australia and, particularly, the "limited availability of quality survey data" (Markus, 2011, p. 193) due to the commercialisation of the leading surveys such as the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA). As Markus (2011) stresses, opinion polls in Australia provide results which are "affected by the specific wording of questions, the placement of questions within a survey, sample size and methodology, mode of administration and timing", and, as a result, become "the plaything of the media" (p.197).

The analysis that has been conducted on attitude formation towards migrants in Australia mostly sits outside the theoretical basis of much North American and European research. McAllister (2003), for example, suggests four possible (independent) hypotheses explaining opposition to asylum seekers (and desire for strong border security). He suggests, first, that opposition to asylum seekers is linked to attitudes towards immigration in general and to the conviction that border protection policies assist in maintaining migration at current levels. This attitude points to misperceptions about the number of asylum seekers and Australia's migration programs more generally (see also Pedersen et al., 2005; Verkuyten, 2004). Second, public support for border protection is tied to racial and ethnic prejudice: McAllister notes that in the early 2000s it was argued that a new influx of Middle Eastern immigrants — many of whom arrived by boat — became the centre

of popular prejudice owing to their distinctive culture and religion (2003, p. 455). Third, voters support strong border protection policies believing asylum seekers arriving by boat to be "queue jumpers" who have violated the normal and fair procedures which are in place to ensure the orderly migration of a quota of asylum seekers to Australia. Fourth, McAllister suggests that Australians' strong sense of national identity may be a factor behind their desire for border protection:

> It is clear from the popular reaction to the asylum-seekers that many Australians regarded these unauthorised arrivals as an affront to their sense of national pride. National identity is therefore a potential explanation for public attitudes to asylum-seekers (2003, p. 456).

These four hypotheses were measured against a dependent variable concerning whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back – a question that has appeared in several iterations of the AES (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005; Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011).

McAllister found that the key factors, in order of prevalence, that influence attitudes to asylum seekers are:

> 1. a general desire to reduce levels of immigration
> 2. national identity (in the form of national pride)
> 3. procedural fairness (respect for authority, rather than satisfaction with democracy)
> 4. racial prejudice (adapted from McAllister, 2003, pp. 456-457).

McAllister's 2003 article is an example of research which is wholly Australian focused. Although the article sits outside theories that have been developed in other contexts internationally, it makes a valuable contribution to understanding attitudes in Australia (especially relating to prejudice and threats).

Apart from the above mentioned key factors, McAllister found that "the strong link between asylum-seekers and immigration is notable, raising as it does popular concerns about migrants undermining material standards of living" (2003, p.

456). This point raises the question whether economic conditions may affect attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia. Given that economic concerns have already been shown to have a questionable role in relation to attitudes towards immigration (Fetzer, 2000), and bearing in mind that there is no consensus as to the significance of economic factors in the literature, further investigation into this aspect of attitude formation is warranted.

Not all of McAllister's findings can be tested for the whole period 2001 to 2013. For example, national identity has been inconsistently measured in the AES. Moreover, while there are indicators on racism and perceptions of racism in the community, racism warrants a comprehensive investigation and branches into an additional body of literature that is beyond the scope of this research (Berg, 2013b).

On the subject of the 2001 federal election, McAllister concluded that asylum seekers alone did not cost the Australian Labor Party the 2001 election. In his analysis, he comes to the conclusion that terrorism in connection to the issue of border protection were the most important issues in swaying voters (McAllister, 2003, p. 431). Recent research has also argued that tough rhetoric on asylum seekers has a questionable role in winning votes (Lewis & Woods, 2014a), unlike the threat of terrorism. Media commentators, however, argue that 'boat people rhetoric' in the 2001 election had lasting political consequences for both major parties: for example, Crabb argues that the 2001 loss shaped the Labor Party's subsequent cautious behaviour towards the asylum seeker issue, while the Liberal Party saw the issue as a path to electoral success (see Cassidy, 2010; Crabb, 2010, p. 60; Kelly, 2009, p. 617).

Along similar lines of investigation to McAllister (2003), Lamb (2011) considers attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia around the 2001 and 2010

federal elections. Lamb argues that there is continuity of social characteristics — including education, occupation and gender — which predispose individuals to oppose asylum seekers and that favouring immigration more broadly and having a sense of procedural fairness are the most salient factors associated with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers (Lamb, 2011, pp. 105-106). Importantly, Lamb also concludes that because these explanatory variables were similar in 2001 and 2010, attitudes towards asylum seekers are "deeply held and not subject to radical fluctuations" (2011, p. 106).

Misperceptions, misunderstanding, and lack of knowledge about asylum seekers likely play a part in the formation of attitudes. To some extent, attitudes are based on the information individuals receive mitigated by individual interpretation (Chong & Druckman, 2007a, 2007b; de Vreese et al., 2011; Druckman et al., 2010; Druckman et al., 2013; Dunaway et al., 2010; Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012; Pietsch & Marotta, 2009). Pedersen et al., for example, found that negative attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia are strongly related to false beliefs, defined as "the acceptance of certain incorrect facts" (Pedersen et al., 2005, p. 151), likely owing to few respondents having actual knowledge of asylum seekers and others basing their opinions on hearsay (2005, p. 156). It may be the case that information concerning asylum seekers and immigrants is engineered, or framed, at the political level to avoid specifics or any information concerning individuals that may arouse sympathy. On this topic, experimental research has shown that priming survey respondents with personal information about immigrants can result in more favourable attitudes being expressed by respondents (Bittner & Tremblay, 2011).

The role of misperceptions in attitude formation has been tested both internationally and in Australia. In the Netherlands, for example, Verkuyten (2004)

suggested that negative reactions to asylum seekers are associated with the perception that they are actually economic migrants intent on bypassing established procedures and regulations in order to migrate. At the same time, Verkuyten (2004) argued that individuals perceived as "genuine" political refugees attracted sympathy. Similarly, following a survey designed to identify psychological motivators, Louis et al. (2007) suggest that in Australia:

> citizens' willingness to restrict the access of asylum seekers to their nation and its resources is predicted well by models of intergroup hostility and prejudice [...] procedural and distributive fairness concerns contribute uniquely to predicting social attitudes and action to asylum seekers, as well as partially mediating the effects of norms, legitimacy, and threatening intergroup relations (2007, p. 66).

Esses et al. (2008) makes a similar argument noting some people in Australia:

> perceive that many refugee claimants are immoral individuals who are falsely claiming refugee status in order to gain entry into desirable host nations. These perceptions may evoke the dehumanization of refugees in general, such that refugees may be perceived as less than human and thus not worthy of fair treatment. This may result not only in hostility, but also in unfavourable attitudes toward refugee claimants and toward current refugee policies (2008, p. 5).

Clearly, many of the theories dealing with attitude formation incorporate the locally-born population's perceptions of asylum seekers — most commonly in relation to perceived threats.

The datasets that I have chosen to combine and use do not include measures specifically related to knowledge concerning immigration – be that about regular or irregular arrivals. They do, however, contain many useful measures, including a measure of political knowledge, which will be introduced and discussed in Chapter 3. However, in order to probe the function of specific knowledge in the case of attitudes towards asylum seekers arriving by boat, I will investigate the knowledge

of university students concerning asylum issues in Australia in order to determine if the students have, firstly, accurate perceptions of asylum issues and, secondly, whether higher levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.

2.5 Conclusion

The extensive theoretical literature described above examines the formation of attitudes towards immigrants from different angles and suggests many reasons why citizens support or oppose immigration – immigrant groups and particular immigration policies (Berg, 2015; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Fussell, 2014; Rustenbach, 2010). This chapter highlights that no one single theory provides an exhaustive explanation for attitudes, that attitudes are complex and, as the experiments that were introduced showed, susceptible to change.

The main aim of this chapter has been to provide a broad overview of the theories dealing with the formation of attitudes towards immigrants. The overview showed that several different theories have been developed that attempt to explain the formation of attitudes, and that there are various connections between the theories. While it is not possible in this work to present all of the theories that have been developed to examine the formation of immigration attitudes, the major or prevalent theories described here provide a sufficient theoretical background to research attitude formation. Against this background, human capital, economic competition and political affiliation theories have been chosen as the focus of this research. While human capital and economic competition theories are widely used in the literature, the political affiliation approach remains significantly understudied.

Also, all of these theories lack the attention that they have received in Europe and North America.

Human capital theory has been widely studied in research on attitude formation, however Australia has been excluded from this research, and thus my contribution is to test if the theory is also applicable in the Australian context. Economic competition theory is also well-examined; however, there is tension in the literature concerning the relationships between socioeconomic factors and attitudes. Political affiliation theory, on the other hand, is significantly understudied and underdeveloped, and thus examining political identification in the specific context of Australia, where partisan politics have played a prominent role in public debate concerning immigration policy, will significantly contribute to scholarship on the formation of immigration attitudes. Australia presents a unique opportunity to look at the relationships between partisanship and attitudes towards immigration in a political system where voting is compulsory and partisan identification strong (McAllister et al., 2015).

In the following chapter, I present an overview of the methods employed in this thesis to investigate contemporary Australian attitudes towards regular immigrants and asylum seekers. I will first discuss the preparation of my secondary sources of quantitative data and then the methods employed to test the hypotheses proposed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 – Methodology and research design

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the empirical approach undertaken to explore factors associated with attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants among a sample of Australians. No other researcher has considered factors associated with attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers in Australia over the period 2001–2013, a time when the issue of asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia was salient in the media (Boulus et al., 2013; Esses et al., 2008; Every & Augoustinos, 2007; Louis et al., 2007; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Romano, 2007), and asylum policy subject to significant change. While human capital, political affiliation, and economic competition theories have been developed and applied to the study of the attitudes towards immigrants, the study of the formation of attitudes towards asylum seekers has been less theoretically driven. In this chapter, I present the methodological considerations that must be taken into account in order to test whether the theoretical concepts concerning attitude formation towards immigrants can also be applied to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia. Here I explain why I have chosen to draw on existing data to answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1, how these data are analysed, and describe the methodology employed.

Following a description of the elements of the Australian Election Study (AES) dataset, which will be used in the analysis of attitudes towards asylum seekers and regular immigrants, I describe the characteristics of the AES sample at the centre of this study, including social background factors such as gender, age, place of birth and residence, and socioeconomic background (i.e. education, occupation category,

and income) to investigate social difference in the sample. I describe the analytical methods and strategy employed in this research including the creation of additive scales, informed by factor analysis, for concepts of theoretical importance to the research questions. This chapter also details how the empirical analysis proceeds in the following chapters.

3.2 Australian Election Study

This thesis analyses AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 survey data to investigate attitudes towards asylum seekers and regular immigrants (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005; Bean et al., 2008; Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011). These datasets have been chosen as they are created following federal elections during the period of interest in this study. As the primary interest of this research was to investigate attitudes towards asylum seekers and the political debate surrounding their arrival, the study of regular immigrants will also be limited to these years, even though the AES has asked questions on immigrants for several years beyond the period of this study.

The AES is a cross-sectional study that probes attitudes to political and social issues, political orientation, and perceptions of economic well-being after Australian federal elections. The survey has been conducted in its current form, with some variation in questions, since 1987 (Bean et al., 2014b). While the main goal behind the survey is to monitor long-term trends in political attitudes and behaviours of Australians, it also investigates political and social policy issues which are prevalent in the period immediately preceding each election and how they may have been important for the election result (Bean et al., 2014b). For this reason, there is some variation in the questions that are asked from survey to survey, though many questions are static, including core background variables such as level of education,

employment status, gender, age, place of birth, political preferences and voting behaviour (Bean et al., 2014b). Other background variables, such as income and occupational category, have used different response categories over the period 2001–2013.

The study is run as a postal survey, with an online completion option, and selects potential respondents using a one-stage stratified or systematic random sample drawing on the Australian electoral roll (Bean et al., 2014b). Goot (2013) argues that several factors, such as the self-completion method, could lead to the sample being unrepresentative of the Australian voting population due to the language capacity of the population and the use of technical terms in some questions:

> [Postal survey s]elf-completion assumes basic literacy. Yet in 2006, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, only 54 per cent of Australians aged 15–74 whose first language was English had 'prose literacy' (for example, the ability to 'read' newspapers), only 53 per cent had 'document literacy' (such as the ability to read bus schedules) and only 47 per cent had 'numeracy and problem solving skills' […] Moreover, an increasing proportion of the population (16 per cent) spoke a language other than English at home […] Researchers cannot acknowledge […] questions 'unwisely phrased' (on opinion leadership) or a 'technical term' ('inflation') that respondents may not have understood. (Goot, 2013, p. 370)

Nonetheless, the AES collects a high number of responses, which gives insight into the views of those sampled. The sample size varies from survey to survey with the 2013 AES having the largest sample size of the years considered here: 3,955 completed surveys were returned — 3,379 by mail and 576 online (Bean et al., 2014b). Response rates for each iteration of the AES between 2001 and 2013 are reported in in Table 3.1 below and, using the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) checklist, in Appendix D. Question response rates and survey year are reported in the following chapters. For the analysis presented in this thesis, the datasets for each iteration were pooled into one dataset and, in addition to

other recoding that will be described later, a variable was coded to indicate the year of response for each respondent.

Table 3.1 Total number of valid responses to the AES by year, 2001–2013

Year	Responses (N)	Per cent
2001	2010	17.2
2004	1769	15.2
2007	1873	16.1
2010	2061	17.7
2013	3955	33.9
Total	11668	100.0

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). Not weighted.

In order to make the AES more representative, the 2010 and 2013 AES provide weight variables that factor gender, age, state of residence, and party vote based on Australian Electoral Commission vote tallies (Bean et al., 2014b). These weight variables are intended to make the AES more closely reflect the Australian voting population and are used in all analysis unless otherwise noted. However, the exact formulation of the weight variable that is provided with the datasets is not known. On this subject, Goot (2013) writes:

> The standard response to wayward samples these days is to weight the data. Even so, most observations [in the AES] are not weighted, and the nature of the observations that are weighted is not disclosed. Weighting assumes that those who are missed resemble those who have been included. Giving extra weight, for example, to those who do not have post-school education because they are under-represented in the sample works only insofar as those who responded resemble those who did not. The two groups, however, may be different (Goot, 2013, p. 371).

The AES does not perfectly represent the Australian voting population: Betts (2002) notes “those who do return [the AES…] tend to be unlike those who do not; the AES is biased towards older, more educated people”(Betts, 2002, p. 25). Similarly, Goot

questions the representation of educated respondents in the AES: "Most worrying is the educational profile of the [AES] respondents" (Goot, 2013, p. 370). Goot continues:

> The AES massively over-represents those with post-school qualifications; in 1996 they made up 67 per cent of the sample, instead of 30 per cent in line with the Census […] The AES over-represents Australians who own their homes outright […] The AES under-represents, by an even greater margin, those who rent […] Shortcomings of this kind are not restricted to demographics. Respondents almost always over-report voting for the winning side — in 1987 (Labor) and 1996 (the Coalition) by nearly 5 percentage points. Support for parties without parliamentary representation is under-reported [… Other] researchers typically mapped their data against whatever official statistics were available [, but the AES] does not (Goot, 2013, pp. 370-371).

These issues make it essential to report the demographic characteristics of the sample, so that future researchers may consider the sample presented in this work and the population that it represents.

The weight variables provided with the 2010 and 2013 AES datasets are used in this thesis where possible in the presentation of descriptive statistics to ensure consistency between the results in this thesis and results published in the AES Codebooks (Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011) and, secondly, to make the analysis more representative of the Australian voting population, noting the criticisms above (see also Kish & Frankel, 1974). Weights, however, are not applied to the multivariate analysis. This is because not enough is known about the construction of the AES 2010 and AES 2013 weight variables to construct similar variables for the earlier AES data, and the overall size of the combined AES dataset is sufficiently large that there will not be a loss of statistical power when the data is not weighted (see discussion on the application of weights to multivariate analysis in Gelman, 2007; Winship & Radbill, 1994). In preparing the regression models, additional analysis was undertaken using the 2010 and 2013 AES weights to examine differences between weighted and unweighted models. This analysis showed that the directionality of the coefficients did not change when using the

weight variable. An example of weighted and unweighted descriptive analysis is presented in Appendix C.

Secondary survey research, that is, research that considers the data of a survey which was originally designed and run by someone other than the researcher, has a number of benefits and disadvantages. Secondary analysis of survey data provides a method of examining the value of various factors (Holbrook, 2014, p. 1) and several questions from the AES have been chosen that can be used to investigate existing attitudinal theories. Surveys are useful for reporting and analysing the numerical characteristics of a large population, commonly used to estimate population parameters. By way of example, the AES datasets considered in this thesis comprise more than 10,000 respondents (see Table 3.1, p. 47). This large number of respondents is important for descriptive and explanatory analyses (Babbie, 2002; De Vaus, 2002). Further, as the same questions have been asked over successive iterations of the AES, analysis can be conducted to observe how opinions, at the population level, have changed or remained the same over time. Another advantage is that the costs of conducting the study are borne by other researchers or institutions, and to acquire a data source with as many respondents as the AES would be extremely expensive. In this analysis, several iterations of the AES are considered and the questions that were asked are identical in each survey. Notably, however, in the 2007 AES a question about asylum seekers was not asked and as a result that year is not included in the analyses relating to asylum seekers.

The AES was chosen for this research because it contains a range of indicators that concern attitudes towards immigrants and (with the exception of the 2007 AES) at least one question concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers. Additionally, several questions are asked which may be used to allow analysis of

human capital, political affiliation, and economic competition theories, including social background and socioeconomic measures. This data was used to investigate what Australians think about immigrants and asylum seekers and how their opinions have changed over time. Given that the data contained a sample of respondents from a range of social and economic backgrounds, I was able to examine the relationship between background factors and attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers.

There are, however, disadvantages to secondary survey research. One limitation of using survey data collected by someone else, who likely has different theoretical and analytical purposes, is to force the data to answer your own research questions (Allum & Arber, 2008; Proctor, 2008). Secondary analysis, thus, requires careful consideration of the questions that have been put to respondents and how responses can be analysed to shed light on other hypotheses.

Another limitation of using survey data is that the survey instrument cannot respond to, or gauge, the context in which the questions were asked. Qualitative interviews and text analyses provide an alternative and, according to some sociologists, a better method to investigate human action (Alexander & Smith, 1993; Eliasoph, 1990). While the AES follows federal elections, it is not possible to estimate with accuracy the engagement of respondents with the election campaigns or events surrounding the election. Questions are included in the AES which seek to measure these factors — such as frequency of engagement with news media. However, these self-reported measures may not accurately reflect engagement. The advantages, though, and availability of data outweigh these limitations.

Noting the survey authors had different motivations to my own, not all questions that may have relevance to a study of attitudes towards immigration have been asked consistently over time. For example, it is not possible to measure the

strength of national pride as a factor contributing to attitudes towards asylum seekers over the whole period from 2001 to 2013, and extend McAllister's analysis of the issue (2003), as a question on this topic was only asked twice during the period: in 2001 and 2004 (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005). Nor was the question concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers asked following the 2007 federal election when the issue was less prominent owing to there being few arrivals at the time (arrival numbers are presented in Figure 4.1, p. 98). Nonetheless, several questions of relevance to seeking asylum and immigrants in general were asked; Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 set out the questions in the AES concerning immigrants and asylum seekers, noting the years the questions were asked.

Table 3.2 AES questions relating to immigrants (migrants) and years asked

Year	Section	Question	Answer options	Notes
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	D.1 D.1 D.1 D.1 D.1	*"Here is a list of important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. When you were deciding about how to vote, how important was each of these issues to you personally?[…] Immigration."*	• Extremely important • Quite important • Not very important	The list and ranking of issues is presented in (McAllister & Cameron, 2014). In 2010, "immigration" was not included in the list of issues. A similar issue, "Population policy," was included.
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	D.2 D.2 D.2 D.2 D.2	*"Still thinking about these same issues, whose policies—the Labor Party's or the Liberal–National Coalition's—would you say come closer to your own views on each of these issues? […] Immigration."*	Four categories: • Labor (ALP) • Liberal–National Coalition • No difference • Don't know	See comment above.
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	D.3 D.3 D.3 D.3 D.3	*"Still thinking about the same issues, which of these issues was most important to you and your family during the election campaign? And which next? Please put the number of the issue in the appropriate box below […] Immigration."*	Two categories: • First • Second most important issue	See comment above. The 2007 AES presented fourteen issues; the words "and your family" were not included in the question.

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Year	Section	Question	Answer options	Notes
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	E.2 E.2 E.2 E.2 E.2	The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?.. • Equal opportunities for migrants • The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time	Five categories: • Gone much too far • Gone too far • About right • Not gone far enough • Not gone nearly far enough	
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	F.6 F.9 F.12 F.9 F.7	*Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?*	Five categories: • Increased a lot • Increased a little • Remain about the same as it is • Reduced a little • Reduced a lot	
2001 2004 2007 2010 2013	F.7 F.10 F.13 F.10 F.8	*"There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?..* • Immigrants increase the crime rate • Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy • Immigrants take jobs away from people who are born in Australia • Immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures"	Five categories: • Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree	
2001	F.8	*"Do you think the government should accept more or less of the following groups of migrants?* • Migrants who have relatives in Australia • Migrants who are well educated • Migrants who are Asian • Migrants who have a skilled trade • Migrants who could be useful to this country • Migrants who are British • Migrants who are Southern European • Migrants who do the work no Australian wants to do • Migrants who are from the Middle East"	Five categories: • Accept a lot more • Accept some more • Stay about the same • Accept some less • Accept a lot less	
2001 2004	G.10 G.6	*"How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?* *It is more important for new migrants to learn what it is to be Australian than to cling to their old ways"*	Five categories: • Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

This research does not consider questions F8 from 2001, nor G6 and G10 from 2001 and 2004, Table 3.2. As noted above, the focus of this research is on political affiliation, human capital and economic competition, across the entire period from 2001 to 2013. These questions might provide other researchers, who have specific interest in elections viewed singularly, with specific insights into the perceived threats posed by immigrants and perceptions of integration and how perceptions are related to views of nationalism.

Table 3.3 AES questions relating to asylum seekers and years asked

Year	Ref	Question	Answer	Notes
2001 2004 2010 2013	E.4 E.4 E.4 E.6	*"Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements […] All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back."*	Five categories: • strongly agree • agree • neither agree nor disagree • disagree • strongly disagree	The question was not asked in the AES following the 2007 federal election as the issue was not salient during the election (Interview David Gow, co-author 2007 AES).
2001 2004 2010 2013	D.1 D.1 D.1 D.1	*"Here is a list of important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. When you were deciding about how to vote, how important was each of these issues to you personally? […] Refugees and asylum seekers."*	Three categories: • extremely important • quite important • not very important	The list and ranking of issues is presented in (McAllister & Cameron, 2014).
2001 2004 2010 2013	D.2 D.2 D.2 D.2	*"Still thinking about these same issues, whose policies—the Labor Party's or the Liberal–National Coalition's—would you say come closer to your own views on each of these issues? […] Refugees and asylum seekers."*	Four categories: • Labor (ALP) • Liberal–National Coalition • No difference • Don't know	
2001 2004 2010 2013	D.3 D.3 D.3 D.3	*Still thinking about the same 12 issues, which of these issues was most important to you and your family during the election campaign? And which next? Please put the number of the issue in the appropriate box below […] Refugees and asylum seekers*	Two categories: • First • Second most important issue	
2001 2004	G.10 G.6	*"How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? […] Most of those people seeking asylum in Australia are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland."*	Five categories: • Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree	

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Year	Ref	Question	Answer	Notes
2013	E.4	*"What do you think is the best way to handle the processing and resettlement of asylum seekers who come by boat and manage to reach Australian waters?"*	Four categories: • Process and resettle offshore • Process offshore but resettle in Australia • Process and resettle onshore in Australia • None of these options	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

As can be seen in the tables above, several questions were asked consistently across the period (these questions are identified in the tables by shaded rows). Owing to this consistency and their relevance to the topic being studied, these questions will be used in the analysis presented in this thesis.

While it is fortunate that the AES has asked several questions concerning immigration over several years, the wording of the questions — especially that concerning asylum seekers — may not be ideal. As can be seen in Table 3.3, between 2001 and 2013 the AES was conducted five times following federal elections in 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013. Of these surveys, a direct question on attitudes towards asylum seekers was asked four times. The question read: *"Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements […] All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back."*(Bean et al., 2014a). The wording of the question is somewhat problematic as the response categories are limited: there is no possibility for a respondent to answer that 'some' boats should be returned, for example. It is, thus, possible that some respondents choose an answer which is proximate to their actual attitudes. Nonetheless, as this is the only question that has been asked consistently, and the issue of boat turn-backs has been central to asylum policy debate, it will be used as a dependent variable in this research.

An additional issue with the question concerning asylum seekers is whether it is too harshly worded. Research has shown that harshly worded questions tend to lead to harsh responses. For example, Segovia and Defever (2010) argue, drawing on a longitudinal study which relies on several surveys with different questions concerning immigration, that attitudinal variations are partly the result of softer questions being asked in some studies. Similarly, Goot and Watson (2011, pp. 37-38) write in the Australian context that brutal questions in survey research may lead to brutal responses. Iyengar et al. (2013) also note that questions which position immigration in the context of threat are more powerful in generating negative responses than questions which personalise migration by including detailed information about individual immigrants (see generally Bittner & Tremblay, 2011; Maio, 1994; Mills, 1986). The question concerning asylum seekers in the AES may position asylum seekers as a threat to Australia's sovereignty simply by including the pejorative phrase "social concerns" in the pre-question rather than a neutral phrase like "Here are some statements [full stop] Please say whether you strongly agree […]".

Another issue, which can draw into question the relevance of quantitative data collection, is that public polling is often conducted following an increase in the number of arrivals and consequent media scrutiny, which in effect primes the issue as salient and may skew the results (see Betts, 2001, pp. 40-43, 45). This kind of priming effect may also affect the results of the AES; the surveys were conducted following federal election campaigns where asylum issues were prominently debated, and when the issue was not prominent, the question about turning back asylum boats was not asked. Nonetheless, the AES has the benefit of being consistently conducted after each federal election and as such can be used to

consider how attitudes have changed over time. It also has the benefit of being the only Australian survey to have collected public opinion data concerning government policy on how to respond to asylum seekers over such an extended period.

3.3 Data summary Australian Election Study 2001–2013

As a first step in the analysis, the data from AES 2001 to 2013 were pooled to form one large dataset with a new variable to record the year of response. This allows all of the datasets to be analysed simultaneously controlling for year while observing the role of various independent variables on attitudes towards immigration and asylum seekers. The next stage of analysis involved identifying population characteristics in the AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013 (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005; Bean et al., 2008; Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011).

Existing literature and research into attitudes guided the selection of socioeconomic variables included in the models. Post-school education, occupational categories, and income, were included to examine socioeconomic measures. Background factors, such as gender, place of birth, place of residence, and age were also included. To observe social differences, I investigated frequency distributions in order to make descriptive inferences about the respondents to the AES.

In terms of gender, the AES has consistently attracted a sample slightly favouring female respondents, see Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Distribution of respondents by demographic indicators, AES 2001–2013

	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
Gender	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Female	1049	53.0	895	51.7	964	52.7	1044	50.7	2004	51.7
Male	930	47.0	835	48.3	865	47.3	1017	49.3	1869	48.3
Total	1979	100	1730	100	1829	100	2061	100	3873	100
Place of birth										
Australia	1496	75.6	1326	76.6	1352	73.8	1609	78.4	2865	75.8
Other	482	24.4	405	23.4	479	26.2	442	21.6	917	24.2
Total	1978	100	1731	100	1831	100	2051	100	3782	100
Residence										
Rural	951	48.8	797	47.1	813	45.0	854	41.8	1736	45.4
Urban	997	51.2	895	52.9	993	55.0	1190	58.2	2090	54.6
Total	1948	100	1692	100	1806	100	2044	100	3826	100

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Table 3.4 also includes the distribution of respondents by place of birth. The results are mostly consistent across the period with approximately three-quarters of respondents identifying as being born in Australia, which is similar to the percentage of Australians in the wider community who were born locally (ABS, 2013). Of the samples, 2010 has a slightly higher percentage of Australian born respondents; just over one-fifth of respondents in that year were born abroad.

The majority of AES respondents live in urban areas, as can be seen in Table 3.4. This remains true throughout the period even though there is a small variation in percentage points between each dataset. The AES measures residence using several categorical responses. These are rural areas, a small country town, a large country town, a large town, and a major city. When initially considering the data, I ran a contingency analysis of desire to turn back the boats and the original place of residence categories found in the AES; this analysis pointed to views being different between rural and city areas. For that reason, place of residence was recoded into a dichotomous variable where a rural area includes four response categories (rural areas, a small country town, a large country town, and a large town), while an urban area includes only those respondents who answered that they live in a major city.

This coding, while supported by the contingency analysis, may seem somewhat arbitrary. However, this seemingly crude division is also supported by the Australian Bureau of Statistics which describes Australian "urban centres" as capital cities "on the coast" (ABS, 2012b).

As shown in Table 3.5, the average age of AES respondents was reasonably stable between 2001 and 2013. As can be seen, the average age of respondents is just under 50 years.

Table 3.5 Average age of respondents, AES 2001–2013

Year	Average age	(n)
2001	48.13	1887
2004	50.03	1637
2007	52.03	1749
2010	48.17	2061
2013	48.46	3841
Combined average	49.14	
Total		11175

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Moving on to social class, three indicators from the AES were considered: education, employment category, and income. Table 3.6, next page, shows the distribution of education among all respondents to the AES between the years 2001 and 2013. Over this period, there is a trend towards more respondents indicating that they were educated at a university. Trade and non-trade qualifications have, however, remained reasonably stable across the period. In Australia, trade qualifications can be attained through apprenticeships, which combine work experience, training, and take approximately four years to complete; or through the recognition of existing qualifications attained overseas . Non-trade qualifications confer students with certification of vocational skills across a range of industries under the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF, 2016).

Table 3.6. Distribution of respondents by education, AES 2001–2013

Education	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
No qualification since leaving school	674	36.2	570	34.8	530	30.0	627	30.9	1067	28.1
Postgraduate degree or postgraduate diploma	176	9.4	158	9.6	207	11.7	215	10.6	537	14.1
Bachelor degree (including Honours)	209	11.2	237	14.5	250	14.1	347	17.1	681	17.9
Undergraduate diploma	64	3.4	64	3.9	78	4.4	94	4.6	164	4.3
Associate diploma	126	6.8	129	7.9	152	8.6	174	8.6	305	8.0
Trade qualification	376	20.2	292	17.8	343	19.4	354	17.5	635	16.7
Non-trade qualification	238	12.8	190	11.6	208	11.8	217	10.7	412	10.8
Total	1863	100	1640	100	1768	100	2028	100	3801	100

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Previous research has argued that post-school education is highly correlated with favourable attitudes towards immigrants (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). These considerations sometimes centre on type of education, university for example, while others focus on duration of education (Brennan et al., 2015). A question is asked in the AES concerning total number of years spent in education; however, the focus here will be on 'type of education.' This decision was made noting that if 'total years of education' were used in the analysis, the results could suggest that a single year increase in education has a certain relationship with attitudes, but it would not be possible to determine if there is a difference between the kinds of education that individuals undertook. A possible alternative, would be to use a method of coding the data like that used by Hawley (2011), who controlled for four-year university degrees using a single binary variable

in analysis that considered attitudes towards immigration policy. However, in Australia there are several kinds of post-school education, which have similar durations: diplomas can take three years to complete, but so too do bachelor degrees. Initial contingency analysis of education's relationship with attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers also supported grouping like-forms of education. Therefore, the educational categories presented in Table 3.6 were collapsed into four categories capturing university education, diploma qualifications, trade or other qualifications, and no post-school qualifications for each AES between 2001 and 2013. The recoded frequencies of the variable are reported in Table 3.7. The results reveal a general trend towards higher numbers of AES respondents being university educated: in 2013, 11.3 per cent more respondents were university educated compared to the 2001 AES.

Table 3.7. Distribution of respondents by education, recoded, AES 2001–2013

Qualification	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
University degree	385	20.7	395	24.1	457	25.8	562	27.7	1218	32.0
Diploma	190	10.2	193	11.8	230	13.0	268	13.2	469	12.4
Trade or other	614	33.0	482	29.4	551	31.2	571	28.2	1047	27.5
None	674	36.2	570	34.8	530	30.0	627	30.9	1067	28.1
Total	1863	100	1640	100	1768	100	2027	100	3801	100

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Table 3.8 shows employment categories of AES respondents between 2001 and 2013. Over the period, the AES has used the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) and the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) coding of occupations (see Appendix B). For this research, the broad occupational categories were recoded into three general categories: professionals, sales and clerical workers, and labourers. These distinctions are somewhat arbitrary with many occupations blending employee

responsibilities and making the distinction between the categories artificial. Nonetheless, for ease of examination and to look for differences between these three broad classes of occupation, the work categories collected by the AES have been recoded as follows: 'professionals' includes professionals, administrators and managers; 'sales and clerical workers' includes those workers engaged in service industries and clerical employees; 'labourers' includes farmers, unskilled labourers and machinery operators. A large percentage of responses were missing for this variable, and in order to determine if this is important, missing responses are included in the analysis under the category 'occupation not reported'. Dealing with the missing data in this way provides an avenue to examine whether non-responses are important in this analysis as a general category (Kalton, 1983). The full list of occupations and how they were recoded for each AES is detailed in Appendix B.

Table 3.8 Distribution of respondents by occupation category and income, AES 2001–2013

	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Occupation										
Not reported	287	14.3	232	13.1	226	12.1	215	10.4	625	15.8
Clerical and sales	564	28.1	517	29.2	459	24.5	566	27.5	916	23.2
Labourer	509	25.3	391	22.1	562	30.0	613	29.7	1077	27.2
Professional	650	32.3	629	35.6	626	33.4	667	32.4	1338	33.8
Total	2010	100	1769	100	1873	100	2061	100	3956	100
Income										
Not reported	178	8.9	180	10.2	173	9.2	95	4.6	352	8.9
Low	581	28.9	547	30.9	450	24.0	397	19.3	1122	28.4
Mod to high	1251	62.2	1042	58.9	1250	66.7	1569	76.1	2481	62.7
Total	2010	100	1769	100	1873	100	2061	100	3955	100

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Table 3.8 reports three categories for income: not reported, low, and moderate to high. Between 2001 and 2013, the AES used three different scales to measure income. Both 2001 and 2004 used a scale where the uppermost reported income was "$100,000 and above", while by 2010 this upper limit had been raised to

"more than $180,000 per annum". In order to make it easier to compare these scales, reported incomes have been recoded into low, and moderate-to-high income ranges.

Reported income categories were recoded into low or moderate-to-high income ranges based on the Australian Tax Office's Low Income Tax Offset (LITO). The LITO is an amount that is subtracted from tax payable by individuals who the Australian Tax Office considers to be 'low income.' The low-income threshold is determined by the Tax Office each tax year and can be used to categorise low-income respondents to the AES, irrespective of the ranges that were used to collect data in the AES. Other methods of comparing income ranges across years, such as creating quintiles based on the ranges provided, were tested but proved to be ineffective owing to the multiple income ranges that were used across the period. Furthermore, using LITO data provides a way of identifying income differences recognising the effects of inflation.

Historical thresholds for qualifying for the LITO were used to categorise income as 'low' or 'moderate to high' based on whether the reported income exceeded or fell below the LITO threshold for the respective year in which the federal election fell. Some rounding was required to match the LITO threshold and the income categories included in the AES, which are detailed in Appendix A. As can be seen in Table 3.8, a large percentage of respondents across the period chose not to report income. In case this is concealing even lower incomes (discussed further in Chapter 7), missing values have been recoded into 'income not reported'.

3.3.1 Political party identification

The Australian case provides a unique set of circumstances to enhance understanding of the bearing of political identification on attitudes towards

immigrants and asylum seekers. First, Australia is a mature democracy with a compulsory voting system that requires all citizens over the age of eighteen to enrol to vote. Second, the two major party groupings, Labor and the Liberal–National Coalition present a left-right dichotomy. Bearing in mind that limited research has been conducted into partisanship and attitudes towards immigrants or asylum seekers, the Australian case allows an exploration of the relationships between political identification, the strength of that identification, and general interest in politics in a system that requires adult citizens to vote. In this context, I examine the relationship between partisanship and attitudes towards different aspects of regular immigration and attitudes towards asylum seekers.

Several measures of political party identification are asked of respondents to the AES. These include: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?" (Bean et al., 2014b); how the respondent voted in the House of Representatives and Senate; and where a respondent would place themselves on the political spectrum (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005; Bean et al., 2014a; McAllister et al., 2011). There are also several measures in the AES that attempt to address attitudes among voters towards political leaders: these include questions that seek to understand voters' perceptions of the personal qualities of party leaders, such as honesty, leadership, knowledge, and compassion among other qualities. These measures vary from AES to AES, as do the leaders they relate to, and will not be used here. These measures have been criticised in terms of their consistency and theoretical usefulness: Goot (2013) writes, questions concerning "the characteristics of the party leaders [are] so bewildering in their variety as to suggest the absence of any well-thought-out theory" (Goot, 2013, p. 368). Nonetheless, other measures concerning attitudes towards the parties and voting

behaviour are more consistent: party identification and vote in the House of Representatives are consistently asked across the period of interest. These two measures were included in a factor analysis (see Table 8.9, p. 236) that was designed to identify latent variables and, perhaps unsurprisingly, shown to belong to the same factor. It might be assumed that some other AES variables, such as the measure of left-right political leaning, would be related to the partisanship variable. However, this was not the case. Left-right political leaning was included in the factor analysis, but was not shown to belong to the political identification factor – that is, the factor analysis did not bear out a relationship between claimed partisanship, vote in the House of Representatives and left-right leaning. This result calls into question the usefulness of self-reported perceptions of ideology using this data. Along similar lines, Karreth et al. (2015) described left-right leaning as an "imperfect predictor of attitudes" (p. 8) finding only weak correlations between self-reported position on the political spectrum and attitudes towards immigration, with respondents on the left being more accepting of immigration compared to the right, while recognising that there are opponents of immigration at both ends of the spectrum.

A further issue with self-reported political leaning in the AES is the large number of respondents who claim to be neutral or simply do not answer the question: of the 11,668 cases in the combined AES dataset 2001–2013, close to half of all cases are either neutral or missing: 33.3 per cent of cases are neutral and 13.7 per cent are missing. Of those who did respond to similar questions concerning the left-right positioning of the major parties, 15.4 per cent of respondents believe that the Liberal Party is left-leaning, while 18.6 per cent of 10,050 valid responses believe it to be neutral. These findings may point to left-right differences being misunderstood among AES respondents, and a general reluctance to engage with the question owing

to this misunderstanding. Noting that there are other measures in the AES that can be used to shed light on political behaviours, and by extension ideological positioning, the AES questions concerning left-right positioning are not used in this thesis.

Table 3.9, next page, shows the party identification categories from 2001 to 2013. Notably, in 2001 and 2004 the AES included main response categories for the Australian Democrats and the One Nation Party. The 2004 data shows the diminishing level of support for these parties: the Australian Democrats would have no representation following the 2007 election, and the One Nation Party lost its status as a federal political party in 2005. While respondents can indicate an "other party" preference to this question, in these analyses I do not consider the wide gamut of parties (owing to the widely contested senate elections) included by the term "other". It is notable that a reasonably large and consistent percentage, between 13.8 and 16.9 per cent, claim to have no party affiliation. This is consistent with research into party identification in Australia (McAllister & Cameron, 2014, p. 86).

Table 3.9 Distribution of respondents by political party identification, AES 2001–2013

Party	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Liberal Party	733	37.5	714	41.5	664	36.3	746	36.2	1360	34.4
Australian Labor Party	696	35.6	550	32.0	679	37.1	783	38.0	1374	34.8
National Party of Australia	69	3.5	53	3.1	68	3.7	66	3.2	145	3.7
Australian Democrats	51	2.6	12	0.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
Australian Greens	53	2.7	85	4.9	102	5.6	121	5.9	239	6.0
One Nation Party	48	2.5	11	0.6	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other	12	0.6	16	0.9	33	1.8	59	2.9	165	4.2
No Party	294	15.0	278	16.2	284	15.5	283	13.8	668	16.9
Total	1956	100	1719	100	1830	100	2058	100	3951	100

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

The results of the analysis presented above demonstrate the diversity present within the AES population samples of 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013. These social differences will be considered further in connection to political affiliation and attitudes towards immigration and asylum seekers in the coming chapters.

Strength of identification is an important element to consider as research has shown that an individual is more likely to vote for a party if they have a strong sense of party identification (Bartels, 2000). The AES includes a measure concerning how strongly a respondent identifies with the party that they have indicated they identify with. The question reads:

> Would you call yourself a very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of that party? (AES)

Respondents have the option to identify as a 'Very strong supporter', a 'Fairly strong supporter', or a 'Not very strong supporter.' Respondents who have a lack of feeling for any particular party may find it difficult to respond to this question owing to the wording of the response categories, and the fact that the least supportive option is 'not very strong' might account for the large percentage of respondents who do not answer the question (17.2 per cent, N=11,668). Noting that those respondents who feel that they do not support a party at all may be unable to respond to the measure on party support, missing values for this measure have been coded to appear in later analysis as 'Strength not reported'. The inclusion of these missing values ensures that respondents who do not identify with a political party, and did not answer the strength of identification question, are still included in the analysis. Additionally, the 'very' and 'fairly' strong support responses categories have been collapsed, and 'not very strong' will be used as the reference category (see Appendix A for variable recoding). Thus, in order to expand understanding concerning the relationships between attitudes, party identification and strongly identifying with a political party, party identification and strength of identification will be interacted in the regression models presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Including this interaction term in the model will shed light on whether attitudes are different for party identification depending on whether a respondent strongly identifies with that party, or not.

Several other variables that relate to the interests of individuals in Australian politics are also included in the analysis presented in this thesis. Noting that low interest has been associated with unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants (Rustenbach, 2010, p. 57), a question on whether a respondent would choose to vote if it were not compulsory is included, as is a question on interest in politics, and whether the respondent cares who wins the election. These measures were

consistently asked across the period, and are included in order to gain a better understanding of, and the role played by, political interest. Including these measures will allow for an analysis of the function of political interest similar to that considered by Barceló in Asia:

> people with low political interest may be willing to blame others for societal misfortunes, and immigrants are an easy target[…] Yet it could also be the case that those with relatively low political interest also lack political information and, therefore, the tools to assess the actual impact of immigration on society. (Barceló, 2016, p. 89)

While Barceló's study only considered 'interest in politics', my analysis will additionally consider commitment to compulsory voting and concern about which party wins, while also controlling for partisanship. These measures, however, should not be thought representative of political engagement. There are some measures of political and civic engagement included in the AES, including volunteering for a party, sending a letter etc., but the scope of this thesis does not include these measures. Civic and political engagement, while prominent in literature dealing with the integration of migrants and social cohesion (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008), is not considered here because the focus is on attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers in relation to political affiliation, human capital and economic competition theories. Nonetheless, political interest is an important consideration to include, bearing in mind that Australians must vote even if they have little to no interest in the outcome of an election.

In addition to reported political identification and interest, political knowledge is also included in the analysis. Political knowledge is measured through the AES politics quiz. In each of the AES between 2001 and 2013, with the exception of 2004, the same questions were used to probe respondents' knowledge of politics. McAllister describes that the measures concerning political knowledge in the AES assess "factual knowledge"(McAllister, 1998, p. 11), recognising that other

kinds of political knowledge exist. McAllister justified the choice of addressing factual knowledge as "it is the most straightforward and easily measured form of political knowledge"(McAllister, 1998, p. 11). Even so, McAllister acknowledges that surveys "have consistently shown that most citizens are anything but knowledgeable about politics"(McAllister, 1998, p. 7). This method of testing political knowledge has also been challenged: Goot argues "the quiz – with questions about when Australia became a federation, the number of MPs in the House of Representatives and so on – does not test respondents' knowledge of anything remotely relevant to their vote"(Goot, 2013, p. 372). Yet, in this research that issue is not critical; this measure is included as it can be construed to reflect interest in the Australian political system.

Six questions were asked in the AES quiz that measured political knowledge, as can been seen in Table 3.10. A value for the cumulative total of correct answers was coded for each respondent. In 2004, the standard quiz was not included in the AES and another set of questions was used. As can be seen by comparing the average number of correct answers in Table 3.10 and Table 3.11, the 2004 quiz was somewhat easier than the standard quiz: the average number of correct answers for the standard quiz was not more than 2.38 during the period, while the average number of correct answers in the 2004 quiz was 3.59. In the 2004 AES, the questions were different, as was the form of the answers: multiple choice answers were provided, rather than the typical true or false responses, which may have made the quiz easier than in other years. The full questions and answers for the 2004 quiz can be seen in Table 3.11.

Table 3.10 AES Political knowledge quiz, 2001, 2007, 2010, 2013

Question				Answer
Pre-question: And finally, a quick quiz on Australian government. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, cross the "don't know" box and try the next one.				
Australia became a federation in 1901				True
There are 75 members of the House of Representatives				False
The Constitution can only be changed by the High Court				False
The Senate election is based on proportional representation				True
No-one may stand for Federal parliament unless they pay a deposit				True
The longest time allowed between Federal elections for the House of Representatives is four years				False
Year	2001	2007	2010	2013
Mean result from six questions	2.25	2.38	2.28	2.32
(n)	1940	1822	2029	3825

Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a).

Table 3.11 AES Political knowledge quiz, 2004

	Options	Answer
Pre-question: Now a few questions about your interest in and knowledge of politics. If you don't know the answer, just indicate that and move on to the next one.		
First, looking at the list below, can you give the name of the Federal Treasurer before the 2004 Federal election?	Alexander Downer Peter Costello Brendan Nelson Simon Crean Don't know	Peter Costello
Can you say which political party has the second largest number of seats in the House of Representatives, following the 2004 Federal election?	The National Party The Labor Party The Liberal Party The Australian Democrats Don't know	The Labor Party
Which of the following best describes who is entitled to vote in elections for the House of Representatives?	Residents Taxpayers Legal residents Citizens Don't know	Citizens
What is the maximum number of years allowed between elections for the House of Representatives?	Two years Three years Four years Five years Don't know	Three years
Which political party was formed by a former Liberal Party minister?	The Australian Labor The Democratic Labor Party The Australian Democrats The Australian Greens Don't know	The Australian Democrats
Prior to the 2004 Federal election, who was the most recent Australian Labor Party Prime Minister?	Gough Whitlam Bob Hawke Paul Keating Kim Beazley Don't know	Paul Keating
Mean result from six questions	3.59	
(n)	1750	

Data source: AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008).

As can be seen in the tables above, the questions in the 2004 quiz were almost entirely different to the other quizzes: the question concerning the number of years between federal elections is similar to the question asked in other years, but that is really the only similarity. Unlike the quiz used in other years, the 2004 quiz

asked several questions that, while still factually based, were concerned more with current and recent events rather than Australian history, or the operation or structure of the Australian political system itself. Several other topical knowledge questions were also asked in the 2004 AES about the UN Security Council, which are not relevant to knowledge of Australian politics. A seventh question, concerning the nickname of Australia's longest serving Prime Minister Robert Menzies, was also included in the 2004 AES, but it is not used here for two reasons: 1) excluding this question reduces the number of questions to six, which matches the number of questions asked in the other AES, and; 2) being a history question, it does not sit well with the other topical questions asked that year. While the questions that were asked in 2004 were different to the other AES that are of interest here, and the average result is slightly higher in that year, the questions still concern political matters and the average result is not so different to rule out using this measure as an indicator of political knowledge. It would be preferable if the same questions were asked in 2004 as in other years, but this was not the case. Noting this inconsistency, and that there are other natural variations in the data, this measure can still serve as an important indicator in the regression analyses presented later in this thesis – analyses that are geared towards determining the relationships between several variables and attitudes.

3.4 Analytic strategy and methods

The first stage of the empirical investigation involved preparing the AES data files (2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, and 2013) for analysis. To prepare the AES data for analysis, I reorganised, collapsed and recoded categories of variables. This was done for several purposes. Among these were: to order responses and identify reference

categories for the regression analyses; to reduce the number of original categories to ease understanding in cross tabulations (providing there was theoretical justification for doing so); and to standardise variables between datasets (the datasets were already mostly consistent) to allow direct comparisons between each dataset.

On initial examination of the AES datasets, it was apparent that several responses from variables of interest were missing. There are several approaches that can be taken in regard to missing data (Brick & Kalton, 1996; Rubin, 1976). For most of the variables considered in this research, missing responses were minimal at less than five per cent. As a result, it was not necessary to substitute a mean or use multiple imputation with the AES datasets because the sample sizes were so large that statistical power is maintained even when cases with missing data are excluded from the analysis (Olinsky et al., 2003; Roth, 1994). Of the variables discussed in this research, only three variables were missing more than five per cent of responses: strength of party identification (missing 17.2 per cent of N=11668), occupation (missing 13.6 per cent) and income (missing 8.8 per cent).

Of concern owing to the number of missing responses, was the 'strength of party identification' question. That question was missing 17.2 per cent of responses, while the question immediately before it in the AES survey about which political party a respondent identifies with was missing just 1.3 per cent of responses (N = 11,668). This suggests that the question may offer an insufficient variety of responses for respondents to describe their strength of support for a particular party, that there is some inadequacy in the question or, most likely, that the response categories do not cater to respondents who do not identify with any party – these issues are discussed at more length in Chapter 6. Similarly, occupational category and income level are missing many responses. It is possible that respondents did not

report income or occupation owing to privacy concerns, or perhaps they were concealing something they perceived as embarrassing or inconsequential to the study. Whatever the concern of respondents, it is important to consider the cases with missing data points as they are, rather than taking another approach, in the event that the missing responses reveal more than a reluctance to answer the question. Thus, cases that are missing responses for strength of party identification, occupation and income will not be excluded from the analysis, and I will include categories to describe these missing values and treat them as valid categories.

Not replacing missing values with mean values or taking another approach such as multiple imputation also ensures the analysis is reflective of the sampled responses (Peugh & Enders, 2004). Hence, all reported sample sizes in the analysis show the total number of valid cases and, where applicable, percentages that are reported are valid percentages.

3.5 Immigration variables

In the AES between 2001 and 2013, seven questions were consistently asked concerning immigration or immigrants in addition to the occasional questions about asylum seekers. Noting that these questions all relate to persons coming to Australia, I was concerned that the question relating to whether asylum boats should be turned back may be somehow related to the immigration questions. Therefore, I undertook a factor analysis to determine if the questions on asylum seekers and immigrants belong to one latent variable. I also wanted to test whether other issues that the AES addresses, such as economic concerns and the treatment of minorities, might belong to a latent variable that also included variables concerning attitudes towards immigration. Variables were selected from the AES that could be construed to relate

to my research questions, attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants, *and* that were consistently measured over time. Factor analysis is a useful technique as it can confirm or reject those apparent relationships and allow reduction of a larger number of variables into factors — which may be interpreted to reveal underlying concepts (De Vaus, 2002; Graetz & McAllister, 1994). It was also hoped that if underlying concepts, or factors, were identified, these could be used in multivariate analysis either as dependent or independent variables as necessary.

In order to prepare to identify latent variables, twenty-one variables were subjected to factor analysis using the combined dataset for the AES 2001–2013. A table presented the results is available in Appendix E, Table 8.9, p. 236. In summary, the following variables were included in the analysis:

- seven variables concerning immigration
- the measure concerning asylum seekers
- two variables concerning attitudes towards Aboriginal people
- four economic measures
- two measures concerning attitudes towards crime and punishment
- three measures of party identification
- one measure of attitudes towards international engagement.

In the analysis of the variables, several conceptual factors (or latent variables) were identified. The theories discussed at length in Chapter 2 led me to suspect that factors such as positive/negative attitudes towards immigration, economic insecurity, and attitudes towards a minority would be identified by the principal axis factoring method (Fabrigar et al., 1999). This was not strictly the case. Six latent variables were identified: attitudes towards immigrants, attitudes towards punitiveness, attitudes towards Aboriginal people, perceptions of past economic performance, future economic well-being, and political party affiliation.

The seven measures on immigration from the AES were identified as belonging to a latent variable and the factor analysis supports the combination of

these variables into one latent variable, which could be combined into an additive scale. However, as the questions relate to several conceptually different aspects of attitudes towards immigration, a single latent variable was not constructed. Instead, the seven measures were divided into conceptual groupings as described below. It is notable, however, that the variable concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers was not identified in the analysis as belonging to the latent variable concerning attitudes towards immigration

Analysis of the dataset identified a punitiveness factor, which has a factor loading of 0.513. This factor included variables concerning a desire to see stiffer sentences handed down, the reintroduction of the death penalty, an increase in defence spending, *and* turning back asylum boats. The identification of this factor reveals that responses to the question concerning attitudes towards turning back boats carrying asylum seekers has stronger relationships with concerns about justice — punishment and defence — than immigrants more generally; the variable concerning asylum seekers was not in the factor concerning immigration, and instead shares a relationship with variables concerning justice, measured by increasing the severity of judicial punishments, and the defence of Australia (measured by a desire to see defence spending increased). Moreover, the emergence of this factor in the analysis aligns perceptions concerning turning back boats carrying asylum seekers with perceptions of how to deal with other perceived threats to Australian society. Future research may consider the extent of the relationship between different kinds of perceived threats and asylum seekers.

The seven measures on immigration from the AES address support for various dimensions of immigration among the Australian population. These dimensions include support for immigrants, but also address government

immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration on the Australian community. As shown below, the variables can be divided into three groups – all of which have high alpha coefficients as shown below. The variables, shown as they appear in the AES below, may be divided in this way:

Support for immigrants themselves (one measure)

- *Equal opportunities for migrants.*

Government immigration policy (Cronbach's alpha coefficient, $\alpha = 0.819$, n = 11,221)

- *The number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased*
- *The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time has gone too far, or not far enough.*

Effects of immigration (Cronbach's alpha coefficient, $\alpha = 0.782$, n = 11,273)

- *Immigrants increase the crime rate*
- *Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy*
- *Immigrants take jobs away from people who are born in Australia*
- *Immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures.*

Grouping the measures, and constructing additive scales for the effects of immigration and attitudes towards government immigration policy in this way is supported by existing research into immigration in Australia: Pedersen's et al. (2005) analysis of attitudes towards asylum seekers uses an additive scale as the dependent variable that was derived from several questions relating to perceptions of asylum seekers (Pedersen et al., 2005); Rustenbach (2010) also used an additive scale, using three variables with a high alpha coefficient concerning immigrants (see Rustenbach, 2010, p. 62) to arrive at a reliable measure of attitudes. Further, grouping the

measures together in this way results in readily understandable concepts that can be used as dependent variables in further analysis. In the Chapter 5, I will present each of the seven original measures from the AES concerning immigration in graphical form, to visually consider trends over time, in the context of additive scales that have been constructed for attitudes towards immigration policy, and the effects of immigration on society.

3.6 Analysing additive scales and Likert-scale responses

The Likert-scale responses included in the AES will be treated as interval variables for the application of parametric statistical tests. There is conflicting opinion about whether Likert-scales should be treated as interval or categorical variables; some argue that only nonparametric tests should be applied to Likert-type scales (Jamieson, 2004). This is because in Likert-scales, the relationship between different responses is not always clear: should strongly agree be considered one 'point' above agree, or is it double? An additional issue is that linear models applied to a Likert-type dependent variable may produce estimates that fall outside the minimum values of one and maximum value of five (where the dependent variable was measured on a five-point scale). Nonetheless, Carifio and Perla argue that Likert-scales can be treated as interval variables (Carifio & Perla, 2007) providing there is sufficient (ideally close to eight points) on the response categories.

In this thesis, several regression models are presented using dependent variables that address attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society, government immigration policy, equal opportunity for immigrants, and whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back. OLS regression is the principal method used in this research, which allows me to examine the relationships between

several independent and dependent variables (Peugh, 2010). Of the dependent variables, attitudes towards the effects of immigration and government policy are additive scales: the values for their component measures have been added, and the resulting figure divided by the total number of component measures. This division has been performed to retain the original numerical *range* of the component questions (see Appendix A), but the scales contain many more *points* than the component measures: attitudes towards the effects of immigration has 25 points on the scale; attitudes towards government immigration policy has 9 points. As such, these measures can be investigated using linear regression models. However, the remaining dependent variables are categorical measures. In order to facilitate comparisons of the directionality of the regression coefficients between the models that have categorical dependent variables and the models that have additive scale dependent variables, linear regression is used through the text. However, ordered logistic regression analysis was also performed for the models that have categorical dependent variables to test the robustness of the conclusions drawn from linear regression models. Notes are included in the text to indicate where additional analysis was performed, and references included to the relevant Appendix.

3.7 Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

In the first half of 2014, I conducted a survey called the Immigration and Political Affiliation Study (IPAS), which aimed to address the research question:

> *Q5. Does a high level of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers?*

The survey drew on political science students, economics students and research post-graduates at the Australian National University (ANU). Participation was voluntary

and no incentives, such as money, prizes, or course credits, were offered to students to complete the study, nor did I have any relationship with the students as I was not tutoring the group. Although there are limitations in using a convenience sample such as university students and the results may lack external validity (Sears, 1986), research has shown student samples are nonetheless important for the information they may reveal concerning attitudes and behaviours of the group that is studied (Druckman et al., 2006; Nelson et al., 1997). The survey was administered in two phases: the second phase, which was conducted approximately eight weeks after the first, was used to increase the sample size.

Data was collected using an online survey tool. This approach has several benefits over paper-based data collection. Key among these is that there is no personal contact between the researcher and respondent (eliminating interviewer effects), expense is minimal (limited to the cost of an online survey tool — *Qualtrics* was used for this data collection) and, as students completed the survey in their own time, the risk of contamination between respondents is minimal. A descriptive participant information screen, which included a brief introduction to the research, was included on the home screen of the survey — a screen grab of the survey website can be found in Appendix G, and the participant information screen in Appendix H.

In the first phase, two political science first-year lecture groups were invited face-to-face, at the beginning of their weekly lecture, to participate in the study. They were also e-mailed a reminder by their course coordinator four days after the initial invitation. A flyer which was handed to students following the face-to-face invitation – the e-mail and flyer can be seen in Appendices F and G. A top-level domain name was used, www.ozIPAS.com, in order to make it easier for students to

reach the survey if they chose to manually enter the web address rather than clicking the hyperlink in the invitation e-mail. Figure 3.1, p. 82, shows the bulk of responses were received within the first few days of the invitation. A small spike can be seen four days into the study when the students were reminded about the survey via e-mail by their course coordinator. In the first phase of the study, 128 attempts were made at the survey and 120 valid responses were collected.

In the second phase of the study, another lecture group of undergraduate students were invited to participate, again through a face-to-face invitation at the beginning of a weekly lecture. Additionally, postgraduate students of an ANU research school were invited to participate by e-mail – I sent this e-mail to a group distribution list which was approved by the school on the same day that the other students were invited to participate. Figure 3.2 shows the initial strong response to the request for participants in the second phase, which then quickly tapered off. No reminder e-mails were sent to this group. Two small spikes were noted in the completion of surveys during the second phase. As the sample size was small, these spikes indicate that a small number of individuals chose to complete the survey sometime after the initial request was made.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of total responses by date, Phase 1, Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

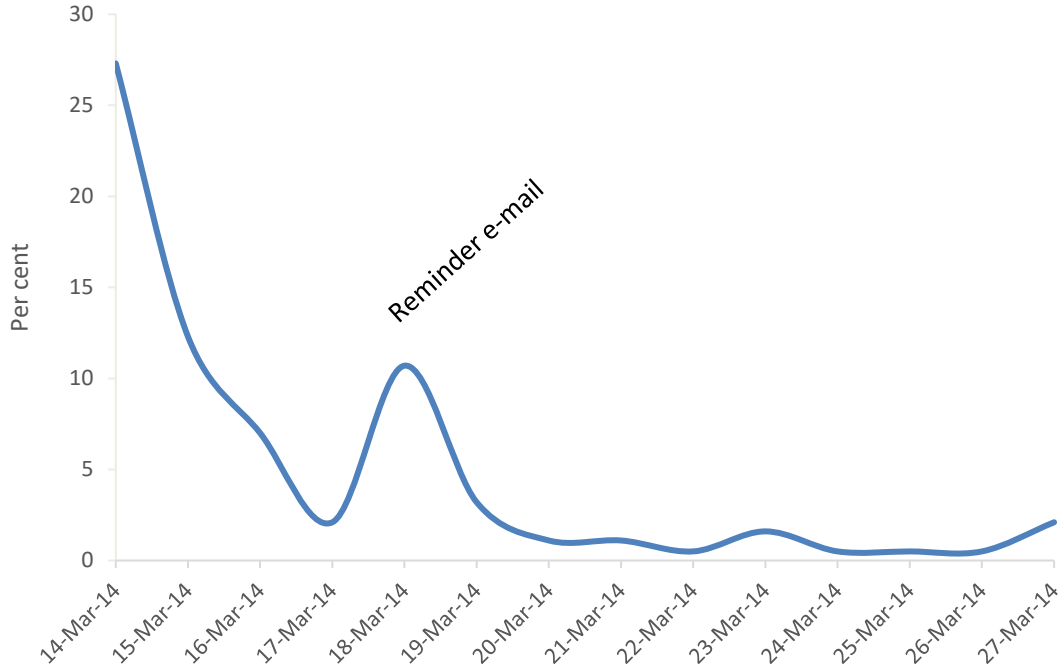
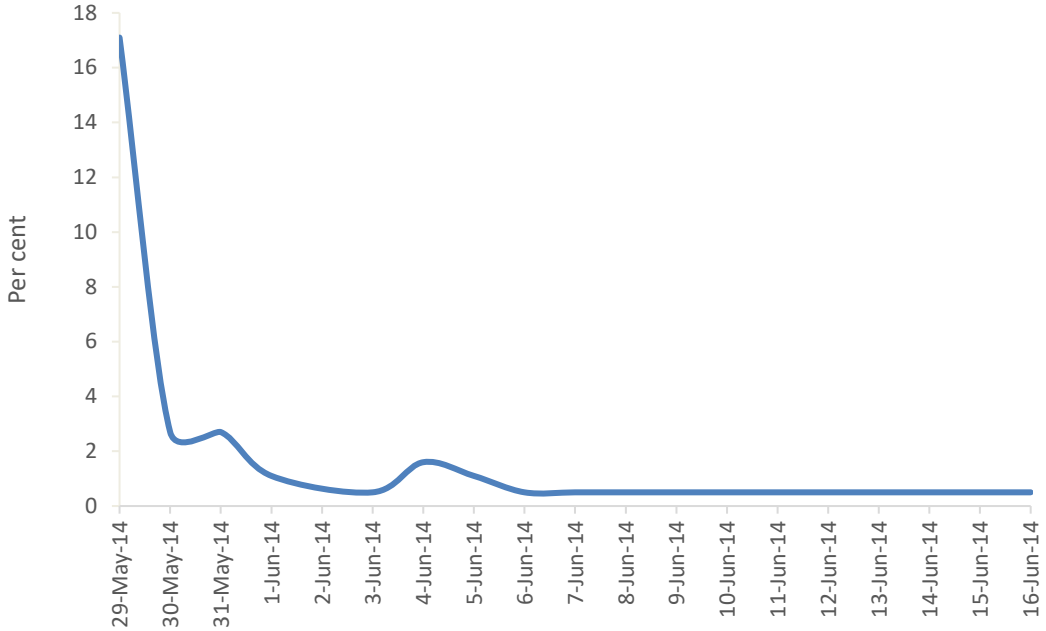


Figure 3.2 Percentage of total responses by date, Phase 2, Immigration and Political Affiliation Study



In all, 187 respondents attempted the survey. Three respondents did not reside in Australia and were excluded from the survey by a screener question, and 173 continued to the first question. Of these respondents, 90 identified themselves as male and 83 as female, 52 and 48 per cent respectively (N = 173). More than four-fifths of all respondents were aged 25 or under. Ninety per cent of all respondents were aged between 18 and 31, while the remaining respondents were aged 32 and above.

The quiz was initially planned to form part of a survey experiment. The experiment included two treatment conditions, which comprised short statements concerning asylum seeking in Australia. The treatment conditions aimed to affect responses in a survey that accompanied the quiz. However, the survey participants held very positive views towards asylum seekers and the experiment produced a null result (that is, there was no statistically significant evidence to suggest that the treatment conditions affected the results collected in the survey). The experimental components of study, consequently, will not be discussed.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the data and statistical techniques that will be used for an empirical investigation of attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants. Drawing on comprehensive AES datasets from 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013, the following chapters will consider attitudes in light of demographic, social and political factors, and compare the analysis across the period from 2001 to 2013.

In the following chapter, I explore the policies of Australian Governments concerning both immigration in general and asylum seekers, and the ramifications these policies have had for Australian society. Following on from the discussion in

this chapter concerning theoretical approaches to this study of attitudes, the following chapter provides a qualitative overview of the shifts in immigration policy and the language of the migration debate – especially as it relates to asylum seekers.

Chapter 4 – Australian immigration policy: pre-Federation to 2013

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of immigration policy in Australia, the shifts in political ideology which precipitated change towards allowing humanitarian migration, and explores the context of asylum rhetoric in recent times. While the chapter provides an historical context that positions recent events in light of more than one hundred years of policy, which mostly worked to exclude immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon lineage from Australia, the purpose is principally to present irregular migration from the time of the fall of Saigon in 1975, and the arrival of asylum seekers that followed, to the present. This chapter addresses the research question: "What is the political and social context of debate concerning regular and irregular immigrants, especially asylum seekers, in Australia?" As such, this chapter considers the importance of the manner in which humanitarian immigration is discussed at the political level and the pivotal role this may play in the formation of individual attitudes towards migrants.

The chapter begins with an overview of the terminology used in Australia to describe asylum seekers. This has been done to introduce the many terms that are used in political debate and to enhance understanding surrounding the consequences that the use of these terms may have. I then describe Australia's humanitarian migration policy and provide an historical overview of immigration policy more generally. I situate this discussion in the context of the White Australia policy of colonial and then national governments, and the gradual deconstruction of White Australia following the Second World War, working forward in time to arrive at

migration policy surrounding the fall of Saigon, the creation of multiculturalism, and what is known of public attitudes towards asylum seekers from that time in the late 1970s. I consider the few public opinion analyses, which are presented in migration literature concerning the 1980s and 1990s, and then situate the empirical research presented later in this thesis in the context of how political elites have discussed humanitarian migration in recent years.

4.2 Contested titles

Many terms have been used to describe irregular immigrants and it has been argued that the language used by political elites and the media to describe migrants in Australia is crucial in shaping public opinion (see O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Pickering, 2001). Further, it has been argued that the array of terms used points to the complexity and contested nature of the issue (Zetter, 2007, p. 39). While "asylum seeker" is the legal term under the United Nations *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* 1951 (the Refugee Convention) that defines individuals who seek protection, but whose claims for protection have not been processed, the media and some political elites, and the public, frequently use terms like "asylum seeker," "refugee," "illegal/unlawful immigrants," and most recently the term "illegals," interchangeably, despite the distinctions between the terms, their precision, or their applicability to the people they are used to describe (Boulus et al., 2013; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Phillips, 2011; Pickering, 2001). In addition to the terms that have some basis in law, a plethora of other terms are used which describe the method of arrival, such as "boat people," or align the method of arrival with illicit behaviour such as "irregular maritime arrival" or "unauthorised boat arrivals".

Before the 2013 federal election, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship officially referred to asylum seekers as "irregular maritime arrivals" (see Phillips, 2011). However, following the 2013 election the Minister for Immigration announced a change in policy that would see those who arrive by boat being referred to as "illegal maritime arrivals"(qtd. in Griffiths, 2013)[1]. This changed the way irregular arrivals are referred to and positioned asylum seekers as "illegal", which sits well with the concept that asylum seekers have done something wrong in coming to Australia by boat, that they are "queue jumpers", that they "take all Australia's refugee places", "receive higher welfare benefits than Australians", are not "genuine refugees", "bring diseases", or will "swamp Australia" (Phillips & Spinks, 2013, pp. 2-14).

The attention given to the issue, and the numerous actions taken to control irregular migration detailed in the following section, may lead to the impression that irregular migrants number more than they actually do and comprise a substantial portion of Australia's annual migrant intake. Statistically, however, refugees and asylum seekers coming to Australia constitute only a small fraction of both people seeking asylum globally and Australia's annual immigration intake: Prime Minister Gillard noted, for example, that in 2009 Australia received only 0.6 per cent of the world's asylum seekers per year (Gillard, 2010); further, asylum seekers constitute only a small fraction of the annual intake of all migrants, which was approximately 200,000 in 2013 (see Figure 2.1 and ABS, 2015a). Moreover, of those who come to Australia to seek asylum, the vast majority arrive by air (Phillips & Spinks, 2010)

[1] The Department's name was also changed to emphasise its role in defending Australia's borders (a role traditionally occupied by the Department of Defence), and the Department became the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP, 2014a, 2014b)

and they are, in fact, less likely to be granted refugee status than those arriving by boat (DIAC, 2009a; Phillips & Spinks, 2013, p. 7; RCOA, 2013). Australia is thus, according to Khalid Koser (2010), "worrying about the wrong asylum seekers" (p. 6).

Pejorative terms have come to form a polemic used to establish asylum seekers as criminals, align them with people smugglers and terrorists, and to assert the spuriousness of the asylum seekers' claims (Esses et al., 2008; Holtom, 2013; Mares, 2002; Pedersen et al., 2005; Schloenhardt, 2000; Schweitzer et al., 2005; Vliegenthart, 2007). Pickering (2001), for example, argues that terms like those listed earlier position asylum seekers as illegal (even when that term is not specifically used), which reinforces the legitimacy of the actions taken by the state — actions which may be out of step with international obligations. Likewise, O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007) argue that the context of referring to asylum seekers as "illegal immigrants" has the effect of "legitimising" sending them back and encourages marginalising practices[2]. Meanwhile, little emphasis is placed on the high number of asylum seekers (more than 90 per cent) who are found to be genuine refugees, or the number accepted annually by Australia — unless it is politically expedient to do so (Phillips, 2011) in order to emphasise the generosity of the receiving government.

[2] O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007) extensively discuss the terms, including "asylum seekers" and "boat people," and offer the alternative "unexpected arrivals." Their argument is that even the categorisation "boat people" is problematic owing to the diverse nationalities, and many other features among these people that vary considerably. Their argument proposes that the various common categorisations are tied to legitimising the actions taken against asylum seekers. In effect, it is legitimate to detain "detainees", "illegal immigrants" have broken law and so forth. Where the terms "boat people" and "asylum seeker" are used in this thesis, they are not used in a pejorative sense and are, instead, used for semantic convenience and because this is the way that this group of people are often described, and the terms under which survey data has been collected.

Labels can deny asylum seekers legitimacy and credibility (see Welch & Schuster, 2005; Zetter, 2007, pp. 40, 44) and the legal definition of "refugee", and "asylum seeker" for that matter, become obscured to the point that their meaning and significance is lost. The argument runs that a state may resist granting an individual refugee status, which mandates a legal obligation to protect an individual, to avoid imposing any further obligations on itself to provide care (see Haddad, 2004; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; Zetter, 2007). In effect, creating negative associations undermines the perceived genuineness of asylum seekers in the community and mitigates the moral culpability of the state for rejecting asylum claims or taking other actions, such as shifting the responsibility to other states, detaining asylum seekers on or offshore, and intercepting and redirecting vessels carrying asylum seekers while still at sea.

Undermining the perceived genuineness of asylum seekers operates on many different levels, ranging from aligning them with criminals, positioning them as criminals themselves, to describing them simply as "economic migrants" intent on bypassing regular forms of migration. Claims in this economic vein were made by Prime Minister Hawke against Cambodian asylum seekers in 1990 (see also Betts, 2003, p. 174; Mares, 2004; Nethery, 2010, pp. 50-51), by Prime Minister Rudd in 2013 (Davies & Phillips, 2013), and by then Minister for Immigration Scott Morrison in 2014 (Hunter, 2014). The use of the terms described above has generated confusion in public debate about refugees, asylum seekers, and the legality and purpose of seeking asylum (Phillips & Spinks, 2013; Schloenhardt, 2000). Further, research has shown that partisan motivated reasoning can affect individual perceptions: Thorson writes that "[e]ven if partisan driven motivated reasoning does not lead to belief persistence, it can still shape how a person reacts to misinformation

and corrections" (Thorson, 2016, p. 463). Thus, once an inaccurate term that labels individuals as illegal has been introduced and accepted, partisanship may continue to play a role in preventing the correction of that misperception. This is especially problematic in Australia where the legality of seeking asylum is at the centre of political rhetoric. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) notes, however, that "a person who has a well-founded fear of persecution should be viewed as a refugee and not be labelled an illegal migrant", having often no possibility to arrange for "legal" entry to a country (UNHCR Rome, 2007). Similarly, the Refugee Council of Australia stresses that "asylum seekers do not break any Australian laws simply by arriving on boats or without authorisation" and such people are classified by Australian law to be a class of "unlawful non-citizen" (RCOA, 2014a).

The language that is used surrounding the issue by political elites serves to both justify asylum policy and the treatment of asylum seekers, appeasing some individuals who identify with a party, but at the same time serving to aggravate others (see O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). The rhetoric that is used to describe asylum seekers has the function to seemingly criminalise and dehumanise them, which may function to overcome concerns about their treatment among moral and social conservatives. That is, the Liberal and National parties must dehumanise or criminalise asylum seekers in the way they discuss asylum seekers so that their conservative supporters will not object to the parties' asylum seeker policy. For instance, under no circumstances are asylum seekers referred to as Christian, even though many are (Dunn et al., 2007, p. 568; see also Klocker, 2004, p. 3) and if asylum seekers were referred to as Christians, and

positioned in a clearly compassionate frame of communication (Goffman, 1974, 1981), some of those social conservatives may object to the parties' policies.

Considering this array of terms, in Chapter 7, I will investigate whether individuals in the process of attaining higher education have a good understanding of asylum seeking in Australia and whether low levels of knowledge correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.

4.3 Migration and asylum policies – historical overview

Well before Australia was a federation, there were several periods of increased migration: notably in the mid-nineteenth century, when gold was discovered in what are now the States of New South Wales and Victoria, and later in the nineteenth century when labour was sought for Queensland's sugar industry. Both Chinese goldminers and Pacific Islanders working at sugar cane plantations, many of whom worked as indentured labourers and some against their will (Evans et al., 1975) became the focus of protests and riots demanding legislation to limit non-white immigration and labour. As a result, by the late nineteenth century, Australia's colonies adopted race-based entry restrictions and immigration policies (Markey, 1996). The government in London broadly supported racially restrictive legislation: in 1897, Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain assured that "there should not be an influx of people alien in civilisation, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influx, moreover, would seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labouring population" (qtd. in Rose, 1933, p. 411). With Australia becoming a federation in 1901, colonial restrictions were replaced by the *Immigration Restriction* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Acts* of 1901 (the latter legislated the deportation of Pacific Islanders). These acts became the cornerstone of the so-called

White Australia policy and powerful legal instruments in shaping immigration policy at the foundation of the Commonwealth (MOAD, 2014).

With unanimous support, the White Australia policy aimed to preserve racial homogeneity (Mackie, 1997; Tavan, 2004) — principally through the use of a Dictation Test which aimed to exclude migrants, who were perceived as undesirable, without being explicitly racist. In this way, the Museum of Australian Democracy writes:

> The Dictation Test was administered 805 times in 1902–03 with 46 people passing and 554 times in 1904–09 with only six people successful. After 1909 no person passed the Dictation Test and people who failed were refused entry or deported (MOAD, 2014)[3].

The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which had restricted non-European immigration, was strengthened by further amendments (Lewis et al., 2009, p. 102) and remained in force until 1958. The British were preferred above other migrants as emphasised by Prime Minister John Curtin during the Second World War: "This country shall remain forever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race" (DIAC, 2009b). However, it was already becoming clear that as a consequence of low levels of immigration due to the global depression in the 1930s that Australia would face labour shortages; in a 1935 speech Billy Hughes, a former Prime Minister of Australia (1915-1923) and then a minister in the Lyons Government, stressed that "Australia must[...] populate or perish" (National Archives of Australia, 2016). Still excluding non-Europeans, migration schemes preferred British

[3] The discriminatory nature with which the test was applied came to light in the High Court case of Czech migrant Egon Erwin Kisch in 1934. Kisch passed the dictation test in several languages, including English, but was eventually failed and refused entry, under Prime Minister Joseph Lyons, when he was unable to transcribe the test in Scottish Gaelic. His appeal against the decision was ultimately successful (*R v Wilson; ex parte Kisch*).

immigrants, assisting them with travel, accommodation and work arrangements (Roe, 1995).

Much later, "populate or perish" became a slogan of post-Second World War Labor Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell, for whom Australia's economic security and even existence was entirely dependent on increasing the country's population (Price, 1998, p. 17). Although a strong supporter of the White Australia policy, Calwell — who was the first Australian Immigration Minister[4] — became known for launching a mass migration program, a key component of Australia's post-war reconstruction program. The program succeeded in bringing millions of people to Australia in the years following the Second World War, and while it is celebrated for diversifying Australia's population and moving to end the White Australia policy, historians have noted the program was not favourably received at the time: Lack and Templeton (1995) write, the program was "conceived in fear, nurtured in secret, launched in trepidation, received with disappointment, and subsequently developed amid bitter controversy and recrimination" (p. 2).

Since British immigrants were not available in desired numbers, Australia signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1947 hoping to recruit migrants in European refugee camps. As a result, between 1947 and 1952, over 180,000 displaced persons were resettled to Australia under the post-war mass migration scheme (Stevens, 2002). They were mainly recruited from refugee camps in Germany and Austria, under the condition that they would work for at least two years wherever the Australian Government decided to place them.

[4] This portfolio was created in Ben Chifley's Government, 1945–1949.

While the selection pool had widened, Australia continued to aim at recruiting only "appropriate" immigrants. In fact, until 1953 British settlers remained the largest component of the intake (Price, 1998). Neumann (2004) observes that "suitable non-British settlers were young, educated and healthy, and, ideally, possessed certain racial features. Australian selection teams preferred vigorous, flaxen-haired, fair-skinned and blue-eyed young men and women from the Baltic countries" (p. 32). There were other restrictions concerning age, gender, marriage and family status. These were gradually loosened by Prime Minister Menzies to expand a group of "carefully handpicked people" (qtd. in Neumann, 2004, p. 33) to all "those good people" (Minister Calwell qtd. in Neumann, 2004, p. 33), as the Australian Government started to fear that it would be unable to draw enough migrants to the country due to ship shortages and many migrants' preference to go to other countries such as the United States and Canada. Following the agreement with the IRO, Australia entered formal and informal migration agreements with several countries including Malta, The Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Turkey, Austria, Greece, Spain, and Belgium (DIBP, 2013c). Ultimately, in the eight years after the end of the Second World War almost 200,000 European refugees settled in Australia.

Such a massive influx would not have been possible without a program to win the acceptance of the Australian public by making them "aware of the necessity of migrants and in a mood to receive them as future Australians" (Immigration Advisory Committee, 27 Feb 1946, qtd. in Pennay, 2010, p. 1). As Brennan (2007) pointed out, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being drafted after the war, Australia was "very testy about recognising any general 'right of asylum' for refugees" (p. 1) and believed "people did not have the right to enter another country without invitation" (p. 1). Even in the face of Australia's need to

increase its workforce and boost the economy after the Second World War, Australians were worried that immigrants would "get all the best jobs", "break down our standards of living", and comprise large numbers of Jewish survivors or ex-enemies (Pennay, 2010, pp. 1-2) or consist of the "refuse" of Europe (The Sun, 1947). To achieve their aim, political elites had to carefully plan how they would communicate news about their migration policies: Arthur Calwell used a public pamphlet to promote his cause claiming that "we must fill our country or we will lose it" (Calwell, 1949). Once the migration scheme was set into motion, politicians had to keep the public's expectation that absorbing and assimilating "aliens" was in the country's national interest. In this vein, the next Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt (1950-56), assured the public that "we have no cause to fear that the inflow of alien people will (…) destroy the fundamentally British character [of] our people" (Holt qtd. in Pennay, 2010, p. 4).

Although after the Second World War, Australia resettled great numbers of people, Australian policy was, as Murphy noted, "at least as much concerned with publicity, and with generating public acceptance as it was with the well-being of the new arrivals" (Murphy, 2000, p. 155). Gradually between 1947 and 1966, successive governments, including the Menzies and Holt governments, dismantled the restrictive pre-war immigration policies. Initially, Robert Menzies continued the immigration program of the Chifley Government and, hence, the White Australia policy. In time he softened the policy to respond to individual cases, such as Japanese war brides who were allowed to settle in 1952, and non-European residents who were allowed to apply for citizenship in 1956, and he abolished the Dictation Test in 1958. The relaxation of migration policy continued with Harold Holt who, after Menzies' retirement in 1966, extended the skilled migration program to allow

non-Europeans to apply. The late 1960s saw an individual immigration agreement with Turkey and migration from a variety of sources including Lebanon, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and India. Thus, by the late 1960s it was clear that the politics of assimilation would no longer provide a foundation for nation building and that "ethnic variety was not about to disappear" (Jupp, 2011, p. 46).

In 1973 the Whitlam Government passed laws to ensure that race would not be considered in selecting migrants. Whitlam implemented the Universal Migration Policy which stipulated that anyone could apply to migrate to Australia, putting an end to the White Australia policy (DIAC, 2009b). In 1975 the same government passed the *Racial Discrimination Act*, which made racially-based selection criteria illegal, though debates about the desirability of certain people have continued.

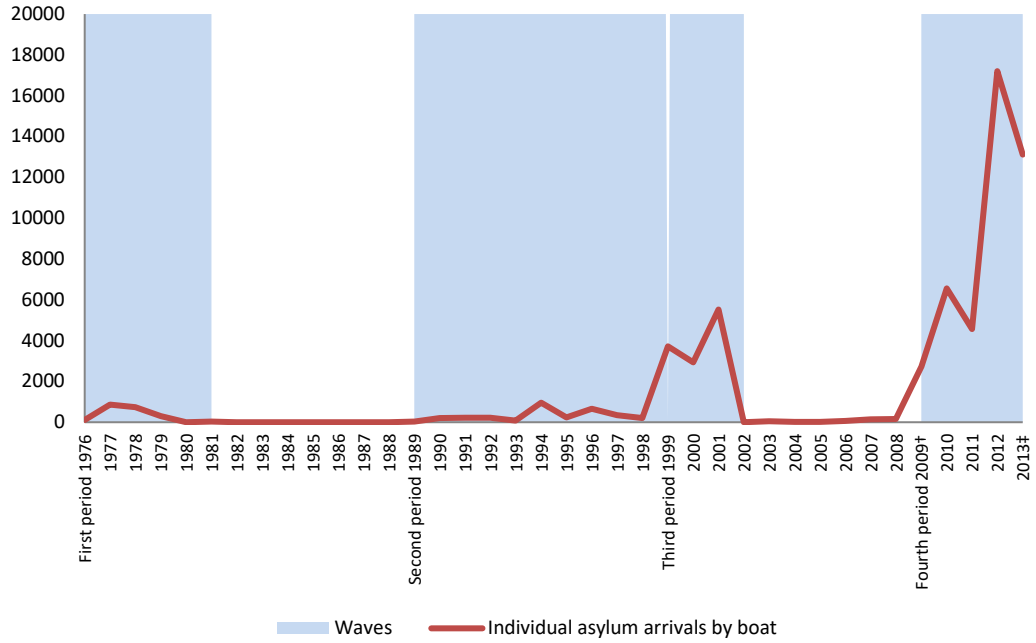
These changes paved the way for humanitarian migrants from Indochina in the mid-1970s. The first boat carrying asylum seekers arrived in 1976 following the fall of Saigon in 1975. In the late 1970s, over 50 boats carrying 2000 refugees, made it to Australia (Phillips & Spinks, 2010, p. 1). Together with relaxing racially restrictive immigration policies, the focus shifted from assimilation to integration practices and eventually to multiculturalism. Considered "the basis for migrant settlement, welfare and social-cultural policy" (Koleth, 2010), multiculturalism was first introduced by Al Grassby, the Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam Government, in a 1973 paper: *A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future* (Grassby, 1973). Interestingly, as Jupp notes, multiculturalism has never been clearly defined in Australia and its basic, practical, definition was provided by the 1978 report of Frank Galbally's Committee, *Migrant Services and Programs.* This report was focused on providing assistance to newly arrived immigrants, and became the founding document of multiculturalism in Australia (Jupp, 2011, p. 48).

Since the late 1970s, there have been four periods of boat arrivals defined by the origin of the asylum seekers:

- 1976 to 1980 — Vietnam and Indochina
- 1989 to 1998 — primarily Cambodia
- 1999 to 2003 — the Middle East and Afghanistan
- from 2008 to 2013 — Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Sri Lanka (Norman, 2013).

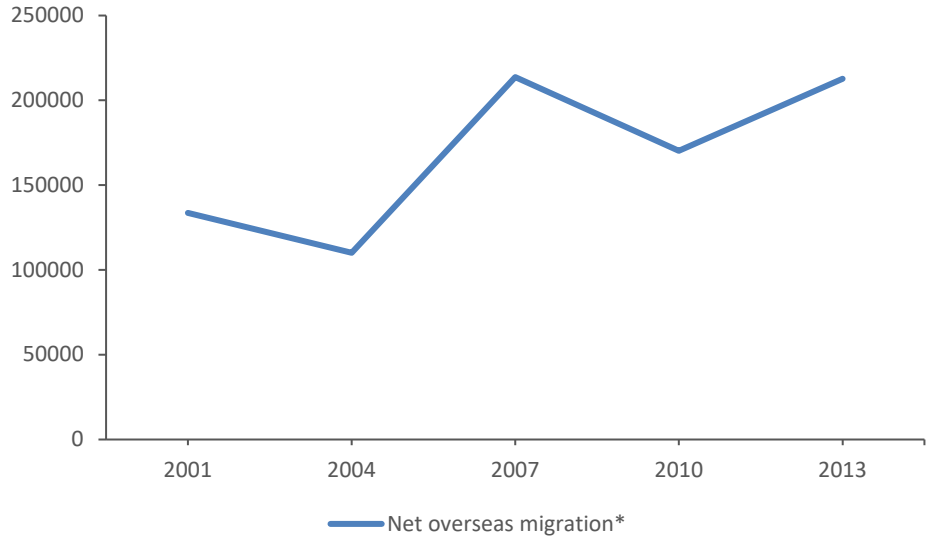
The approximate number of asylum seekers who have arrived by boat per annum from 1976 is presented in Figure 4.1, p 98. All migration *into* Australia (referred to by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as 'net overseas migration') is presented for election years from 2001–2013 in Figure 4.2, p. 99. Asylum seekers who arrived in the first period were essentially granted refugee status automatically with bipartisan support (Betts, 2001, p. 37; Viviani, 1984, pp. 74-79). The Fraser Government (1975–1983) accepted 43,000 refugees annually, who were principally processed offshore, which helped to minimise the number of boat arrivals to Australia (Kelly, 2009, p. 543; Schloenhardt, 2000, p. 36). In the second period, arrivals including Cambodians and asylum seekers from southern China were detained during processing and around 70 per cent of applicants departed Australia (Betts, 2001, p. 36). Alongside these arrivals, the Australian population has grown considerably: between 1979 and 2013, the population increased from 14 million to 23 million people (WBD, 2016), which gives some perspective to the small fraction asylum seekers arriving by boat represent in overall population growth.

Figure 4.1 Number of asylum seekers arriving by boat, 1976–2013.



Data sources: Based on data from (Betts, 2001), Phillips & Spinks (2010), and Refugee Council of Australia (2013). *Notes:* Betts (2001) identified three waves of arrivals to 1999, a fourth wave has been added commencing 2008–2009 – these waves are shaded; †data from 2009-2013 does not include crew arrivals; ‡ data for the year 2013 is incomplete — under Operation Sovereign Borders the number of asylum seekers has not been made public.

Figure 4.2 Net overseas migration into Australia 2001–2013, at years with federal elections.



Data source: Based on ABS data (ABS, 2003, 2006, 2009b, 2012a, 2015a). *Notes:* *net overseas migration is the gain to population from all foreign sources including regular and irregular migration –values are plotted for the period of interest, 2001–2013.

In attempting to deter asylum seekers from making their way to the mainland, or Australia's remote offshore territories such as Christmas Island, the government spends more than $1 billion[5] each year (Hawley, 2012). In the first decade of the twenty-first century, a mandatory detention program served as the primary means of deterrence, but since July 2013 the focus of the deterrence program has shifted to deportation to Papua New Guinea and on turning back boats while they are still at sea. Successive governments have relied on deterrence as a justification for introducing, and maintaining and strengthening, legislation that restricts Australia's migration borders and allows for the mandatory detention of asylum seekers. Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that asylum seekers are deterred from travelling to Australia because of the country's asylum policy (see Jupp, 2006; Schloenhardt,

[5] The 2012 figure alone was $1.5 billion not including apprehension costs which are incurred by the Australian Defence Force (see Hawley, 2012).

2000, p. 44). Indeed, in 2013 the government's policy of turning back asylum boats at sea — under Operation Sovereign Borders — had a questionable role in deterring asylum seekers from departing in the first place. After the 2013 election, boat arrivals appeared to cease, but the deterrence operation continues and little is known about how many attempts to reach Australia are actually made (ABC News, 2014c, 2015). However, an independent log of the little information released by government has been kept which points to the immediate effectiveness of the government's actions to stop arrivals, if not deter departures (ABC News, 2015).

Recent events are a significant departure from the Whitlam Government's (1972–1975) actions that paved the way for humanitarian migrants from Indochina towards the end of the Vietnam War — including the Universal Migration Policy and the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. The Whitlam Government's changes facilitated high numbers of regular migrants from Asia and the Middle East (Koleth, 2010) and provided the context for a report prepared by the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies, known as the FitzGerald Report, which identified the need for "urgent immigration reform" (FitzGerald, 1988, p. 1). The Hawke Government (1983–1991) embraced some of the report's suggestions, introducing in 1989 new multicultural policy amendments. The following Keating Government (1991–1996) also pursued a multicultural policy agenda. In fact, the years between 1986 and 1996, under the Labor governments of Hawke and Keating, witnessed "the expansion of multicultural programs, strong efforts to place multiculturalism within a nationalist narrative where cultural diversity and tolerance were part of Australian national identity" (Tavan, 2006, p. 91).

At the same time, the Keating Government introduced mandatory detention for asylum seekers in 1992 (Phillips & Spinks, 2013), in response to the growing

number of refugees from Vietnam, China and Cambodia who had arrived by boat. Before that, asylum seekers arriving by boat, mainly those escaping from Vietnam and Indochina, were held in "loose detention" (Phillips & Millbank, 2005) and after the enactment of the *Migration Legislation Amendment Act 1989*, could be arrested and detained as "illegal entrants" (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2008, p. 151) on the immigration officers' discretion. Mandatory detention introduced with the *Migration Amendment Act 1992* was not seen as a long-term measure, as the Minister for Immigration, Gerry Hand, emphasised in his 1992 speech at the second reading of the bill: "The Government is determined that a clear signal be sent that migration to Australia may not be achieved by simply arriving in this country and expecting to be allowed into the community […] this legislation is only intended to be an interim measure […] it is designed to address only the pressing requirements of the current situation" (Hand, 1992, p. 2370). Though the policy was intended only as an temporary measure, in 1994 mandatory detention was extended to any person who did not have a valid visa (Phillips & Spinks, 2013).

Since the 1990s, mandatory detention has been a central component of Australia's approach to dealing with irregular arrivals (Phillips & Spinks, 2013). As Phillips and Millbank (2005) stress "Successive governments and other supporters of Australia's mandatory detention policy have claimed that it is an integral part of the highly developed visa and border controls necessary to maintain the integrity of our world class migration and refugee resettlement programs" (2005, no pagination). From the mid to late-1990s asylum seekers continued to arrive in spite of mandatory detention and then in 1999 a new period of arrivals began. These arrivals, predominantly from the Middle East, were far more numerous than previous groups, as can be seen in Figure 4.1 (p. 98), reaching 9500 people between 1999 and 2001.

The so-called Tampa affair and the abandonment of bipartisanship on asylum seeker issues became key to the 2001 election campaign. Bipartisanship has historically been a notable feature of asylum policy, and in spite of what might seem like intense politicking on the issue, current policy distinctions between the major parties are minor (Boulus et al., 2013; Jupp, 2002). Yet, in August 2001, when the Norwegian freighter MV Tampa rescued 439 Afghan asylum seekers from international waters near Australia, bipartisanship was abandoned. It was shortly after this rescue, and the international incident that developed about which nation should accept the asylum seekers — with Australia firmly of the position that it should not receive them — that the Howard Government (1996–2007) introduced the *Border Protection Bill,* later the *Border Protection (Validation and Enforcement Powers) Act 2001*. This Act was introduced in order to provide a legal framework for the removal of any vessel from Australia's territorial waters.

Further legislative changes followed and in September 2001, the *Migration Amendment (Excision from Migration Zone) Act 2001* amended the *Migration Act 1958* and removed territories such as Christmas Island from the Australian migration zone — in practice this was intended to make it harder for asylum seekers to meet the requirements of migrating to Australia by having to reach the mainland (RCOA, 2014b). In the same month the so-called Pacific Solution was implemented: under this policy asylum seekers reaching areas that had previously been in the Australian migration zone were relocated to small Pacific Island countries, and placed into mandatory detention, while their asylum claims were processed. It was in this context that Prime Minister Howard declared his Government was strong on border protection and that the opposition, led by Kim Beazley, was weak (McAllister, 2003, p. 431). Howard's strong stance was epitomised in the 2001 election campaign

speech where he said "we are a generous open hearted people taking more refugees on a per capita basis than any nation except Canada, we have a proud record of welcoming people from 140 different nations. *But we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come*" (emphasis added Howard, 2001). Howard made this statement in the context of commenting on the threat of terrorism, defence policy and border protection, and the Tampa incident — all issues which he managed to relate to the asylum debate in the space of 100 words. With his words, Howard sought to define asylum seekers as a threat to Australia's sovereignty, draw an association between asylum seeking and terrorism, aiming to achieve an electoral benefit among voters concerned about external threats (Bean & McAllister, 2002, p. 271; see also Goot & Watson, 2007)[6].

Apart from denying asylum seekers access to the mainland (Jupp, 2002, pp. 190-191; Maley, 2004, pp. 155-156), the Pacific Solution policy also aimed to intercept vessels carrying asylum seekers (Suspected Illegal Entry Vessels or SIEVs). Under the policy, the Australian Defence Force launched Operation Relex (2001–2006), boats were turned back and arrivals decreased; however, there were environmental factors, such as the timing of the typhoon season, that may have prevented asylum boats departing Indonesia in the first place (Woolner, p. 65). Howard's decisive language, including the quote above on deciding who comes to Australia, reduced what had until that time been a complex issue of humanitarian assistance and international obligation to a seemingly consistent and simple position. Howard's use of language went further to frame (Goffman, 1974) asylum seekers as

[6] Goot and Watson suggest Howard's quote on deciding who will come to Australia related to immigration more generally (2007, p. 267). However, in the context of the speech the implication is that Howard is specifically referring to asylum seekers.

unethical in bypassing other established means of migrating to Australia, referring to them as "queue jumpers" and aligning them with criminal people smugglers, terrorists and disease (Atkins, 2001; Errington & Van Onselen, 2007, p. 301; Kelly, 2009, pp. 553, 593; see also Mares, 2002; Raschella, 2013). Additionally, the asylum seekers had, according to Howard's framing, not only bypassed others who were perhaps more needy by coming to Australia by boat, but were also undesirable in other ways.

In another incident which attracted substantial attention, senior ministers in Howard's Government claimed that asylum seekers in boats had thrown their children overboard to effect rescue in what became known as the children overboard affair. This claim was later shown to be baseless. At the time, the alleged actions of the asylum seekers were said to reveal that they were undesirable on many levels including in their treatment of children (Errington & Van Onselen, 2007, p. 373; Kelly, 2009, p. 593).

In May 2006, the government's attempts to expand the Pacific Solution by introducing the *Migration Amendment (Designated Unauthorised Arrivals) Bill 2006* — which introduced so-called 'offshore' processing of refugee claims — resulted in criticism from the Australian Human Rights Commission. The Commission considered the bill "a backward step in Australia's treatment of asylum seekers" and viewed the experience of detainees as providing "cause for concern that detention in OPCs [offshore processing centres] undermines the human rights of asylum seekers" (Human Rights Commission, 2006). It stressed that between 2001 and 2006 out of 1509 asylum seekers held on Nauru, Australia accepted only 586 for resettlement — and nearly 500 were returned to their country of origin (Human Rights Commission, 2006; Macken, 2006). The bill was withdrawn in August 2006 and the whole Pacific

Solution policy abolished in 2008 by the Rudd Government (2007–2010, 2013). Chris Evans, then Minister for Immigration and Citizenship in the Labor Government, described the Pacific Solution as "a cynical, costly and ultimately unsuccessful exercise introduced on the eve of a federal election (in 2001) by the Howard Government" (SMH, 2008). He also described Temporary Protection Visas, which were replaced by Rudd with Permanent Protection Visas, as "one of the worst aspects of the Howard Government's punitive treatment of refugees" and a tool that was unable to "prevent unauthorised boat arrivals" (Minister for Immigration Chris Evans qtd. in RCOA, 2014b).

Dismantling the Pacific Solution, the Rudd Government intended to focus on combating people smuggling and, eventually, close detention centres. This did not eventuate and the centre at Christmas Island actually expanded. In 2010, the number of asylum seekers who arrived in a single year had increased to 6,555 (RCOA, 2013) and by end 2012, 17,202 asylum seekers (not including people smugglers and crew) had arrived in a single year (Phillips & Spinks, 2013). In the context of growing numbers of arrivals, several vessels en route to Australia sank — including the SIEV-221 in December 2010 at Christmas Island which resulted in the deaths of as many as 50 people. Thus, in June 2012 Prime Minister Gillard (who had replaced Rudd as Labor Prime Minister) appointed an Expert Panel to "provide a report on the best way forward for Australia to prevent asylum seekers risking their lives on dangerous boat journeys to Australia" (see UNHCR, 2012a). The report offered 22 recommendations, including the reintroduction of elements of the Howard era Pacific Solution: offshore processing on Manus Island, in northern Papua New Guinea, and in Nauru (RCOA, 2014b).

The Labor Government's 2012 proposal to exclude continental Australia from the nation's migration zone — to allow for the removal of asylum seekers who make it to the mainland by boat and for their asylum claims to be processed offshore[7] — was a significant departure from previous Labor policy and closely resembled the earlier conservative Liberal–National government's approach. Both the decision to alter Australia's migration boundaries and to deport asylum seekers arriving by boat to Manus Island, was implemented with the justification of deterring asylum seekers from travelling to Australia. In May 2012, the Gillard Government (2010–2013) introduced a bill which would become the *Maritime Powers Act 2013*, the main provisions of which allows boats to be intercepted at sea and returned to their country of origin — the bill was passed into law in 2013, but its enforcement provisions only become operational in 2014 (see ABC News, 2014b). In spite of the passage of these laws, or perhaps because people smugglers were aware the laws would soon come into force, from June 2012 to June 2013, over 25,000 asylum seekers travelled to Australia by boat (DIBP, 2013a).

Following an internal leadership dispute in the governing Labor Party, the prime ministership changed hands from Julia Gillard back to Kevin Rudd. In the midst of the 2013 election campaign, Rudd advocated the reintroduction of Howard era policy (though he did not make this connection) as the only means to deter potential asylum seekers. He announced that anyone who arrived in Australia or its offshore territories, would be deported to Papua New Guinea *and* settled there should their asylum claim be found to be genuine. Initiated under the *Regional Resettlement Arrangement Between Australia and Papua New Guinea* (July 2013),

[7] See the *Migration Amendment (Unauthorised Maritime Arrivals and Other Measures) Act 2013.*

the policy sets out in paragraph 3 the deportation, assessment and settlement of asylum seekers arriving in Australian waters by boat:

> [A]ny unauthorized maritime arrival entering Australian waters will be liable for transfer to Papua New Guinea (in the first instance, Manus Island) for processing and resettlement in Papua New Guinea and in any other participating regional, including Pacific Island, states (DFAT, 2013).

This policy might be considered an extension of Howard's Pacific Solution, as it legalises removing asylum seekers who have reached the mainland, processing their claims offshore (alongside those who are detained outside the migration zone), and it additionally settles successful claimants in Papua New Guinea. The Labor Immigration Minister Chris Bowen, who in 2006 described Howard's immigration policy plans as a "stain on our national character" claiming that the policy would see Australia "turn its back on the Refugee Convention" (Bowen, 2012), suggested that the reintroduced policy did not abrogate the Refugee Convention but rather showed the flexibility of the Labor Government in adapting to the situation, showed a desire to save lives by deterring asylum seekers from attempting the voyage in the first place, and would ultimately undermine people smugglers (Bowen, 2012).

There was little time to observe the effectiveness of the Labor Government's new policy with the 2013 federal election campaign coming soon after the policy had been introduced. During the campaign, Tony Abbott (then Leader of the Opposition) promised to replicate the "effectiveness" of the Howard Government in managing asylum seekers and, in what became a famous three-word slogan, "stop the boats" if elected (Ireland & Wroe, 2014). Thus, asylum seekers were once again a central element of a federal election campaign, with their continued arrival presented as a "national emergency" (Abbott qtd. in Norman, 2013, no pagination). Once victorious, the Coalition Government of Abbott briefly reintroduced Temporary

Protection Visas though they were subsequently cancelled (*Migration Amendment Regulation 2013*) and capped onshore protection visas (Amnesty International, 2013, p. 15).

The Abbott Government has been characterised as taking direct action to stop the boats through the interception of boats at sea and returning asylum seekers on life rafts to Indonesia (Reilly, 2013). However, it has also been criticised for its decision not to release information about the number of boat or individual arrivals, nor how many boats are successfully turned around, under Operation Sovereign Borders (Owens, 2014; Wadham, 2014). Following the conviction that "the point is to stop the boats", Abbott's approach was to remain "a bit of a closed book" and "not to provide sport for public discussion" (Ireland & Wroe, 2014). Yet, the lack of public information on boats policy has not reduced the importance of asylum seeker issues in public debate.

Before the 2013 election, still as the federal Leader of the Opposition, Abbott addressed the media saying that "now there have been 641 illegal boats and there have been more than 38 thousand illegal arrivals by boat […] As with everything this [Labor] government does, they make a bad situation worse" (qtd. in Dyett, 2013). He referred to Article 31 of the Refugee Convention to justify his vocabulary which was, however, criticised by specialists in migration, citizenship and refugee law, with Susan Kneebone describing Abbott's use of the word "illegal" as dishonest and Mary Crock describing the policy as an "absolute deliberate political play" (both qtd. in Dyett, 2013). Stressing that the term "illegal" is misleading, Kneebone observed that:

> The politicians are exploiting the use of the word and attempting to create a sense of panic or fear or just alienation of people who have come without a visa in the minds of the Australian public […] it is dishonest, in fact, for

> politicians in Australia to be using the term illegal because it's not in our *Migration Act*. Our *Migration Act* talks about lawful and unlawful non-citizens. (qtd. in Dyett, 2013)

The importance of language as part of a political strategy was acknowledged by Scott Morrison, then Minister for Immigration and Border Protection in the Abbott Government, who insisted on using the term "illegal arrivals" as in his opinion it "refers to their mode of entry and so I'm going to call a spade a spade" (qtd. in Griffiths, 2013). He instructed the Department of Immigration and Border Protection to adopt this rhetoric and use the term "illegal maritime arrival" instead of "asylum seeker" and "detainee" or "transferee" instead of Labor's "client" (Clark, 2013).

Morrison explained he did not want to use the politically correct language of his predecessors. However, critics and opponents point out that this language "clouds the debate", misrepresents the status of asylum seekers and demonises and dehumanises the people themselves (Griffiths, 2013). Morrison's position evoked Howard era policy of minimising references that would humanise asylum seekers: under Howard, Minister for Defence Peter Reith instructed the Department of Defence public affairs unit that "there was to be nothing in the public forum that would humanise these people" (Jenny McKenry, Head of Public Affairs, Department of Defence, interviewed in. Midwinter Pitt, 2011). Richard Marles warns that when this method of communication is used "[t]he impression gets formed in the community that [… asylum seekers have] broken a law, there's something wrong here" and that "it heightens fear and suspicion" (qtd. in Griffiths, 2013). Referring to a group of asylum seekers intercepted and left stranded at sea under Morrison's policy, Lewis and Woods compared the situation to the Tampa affair and noted the evident continuation in tough talk and "the political take-out that Australians like their border policy tough and uncompromising" (Lewis & Woods, 2014b).

4.4 Attitudes towards asylum seekers

In spite of prominent shifts in government policy over the past 40 years concerning asylum seekers, few attempts have been made to investigate attitudes towards asylum seekers until relatively recently. By the late 1970s, some 60 per cent of Australians were happy to accept asylum seekers, though believed their number should be limited, while 13 per cent would take any number, and 20 per cent wanted no asylum seekers at all (Betts, 2001, p. 40). As can be seen in the Table 4.1, between late 1977 and early 1979 (confirmed in two separate polls) the number of people who would allow any number of asylum seekers from Vietnam into Australia decreased, while hostility rose: approximately 10 per cent more people in 1979 preferred to stop arrivals compared to 1977.

Table 4.1 Polling on asylum seekers, late 1970s, per cent

	December 1977	February 1979	Feb/Mar 1979
Any number	13	7	8
Limit number	60	61	57
Stop them	20	28	32
Can't say	7	5	4
Total	100	100	100
N =	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Notes: The full questions are available in Betts, 2001, p.40. Rounding has been applied to the 1979 figures. *Data source:* Morgan Gallup Poll 191A, 3-4 December 1977; Morgan Gallup Poll number 252, 3-4 February 1979; Morgan Gallup Poll 254, February/March, 1979, all cited in Betts (2001, p. 40).

Neumann (2004) argues that attitudes to asylum seekers were always complex and leant towards hostility. McMaster, Marr and Wilkinson similarly argue that hostility has always existed, while Manne and Corlett, and Crock et al. insist that hostility began with Cambodia arrivals after 1989 (Crock et al., 2006, p. 36; Manne & Corlett, 2004, pp. 2-3; Marr & Wilkinson, 2004, pp. 43-48; McMaster, 2001, p.

280). Betts also argues that attitudes of moderate hostility have indeed been consistent over time (Betts, 2001, p. 34). However, from the late 1970s another public poll on the issue would not be held until 1993 (see discussion in Betts, 2001, pp. 40-42), and with a slightly different question:

> You may know that some people have travelled to Australia from Asia in small boats and have applied to stay as migrants. Do you think people who attempt to become migrants in this way should be: sent straight back where they come from, despite what they say may happen to them; assessed with all other migrant applications, and held in custody in the meantime; or allowed to stay as migrants in Australia (The Age, 1993, pp. 1, 4).

The poll of 1000 respondents revealed a reasonably equal division between those who thought the people travelling in "small boats" should be sent back and those who would allow them to stay but detain them, 44 and 46 per cent respectively (see also Betts, 2001, p. 41). Seven per cent believed they should be allowed to stay while the remainder did not know or did not answer. It is here we encounter two difficulties of secondary quantitative data analysis: if questions are not asked consistently over time can similar questions be compared, and whether questions potentially shape responses (see discussion Chapter 3, p. 50) and put respondents into a position where they give a responses which reflects a harsher or less harsh view than their own (see generally Goot & Watson, 2011, p. 36; Mills, 1986).

It is tempting, though methodologically fraught, to make comparisons between this and more recent data though no polls were conducted between 1993 and 2001 (Betts, 2001, p. 41), meaning any comparison would miss a significant period. What we have instead are snapshots of public opinion on particular questions. In the context of the general hostility which is evidenced by the polls described above, political parties no doubt carefully consider how to respond to the issue and the electoral implications their response may have (see generally Key &

Cummings, 1966, pp. 2, 6), especially in marginal seats (McAllister, 2011, pp. 9-11; Sharman et al., 2002, pp. 546-547; Ward, 2003, p. 589) and it is more than likely that policy preferences are driven by party research into the attitudes of voters in marginal seats (Burchell, 2003, pp. 48-81; Cassidy, 2010, pp. 61, 83-84; see also Ferguson, 2015; Lewis & Woods, 2014a). In Chapter 7, I will return to the issue of attitudes towards asylum seekers and present a trend analysis for the period 2001–2013.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a brief overview of humanitarian migration to Australia and recent governments' policies addressing asylum seekers. The aim of this chapter was to provide a broad overview of the historical policies that led to more recent approaches to asylum seekers, and to note that historically there has largely been bipartisan support for immigration policy. I also considered the importance of the language with which humanitarian migration is discussed, and the role language may play in the formation of individual attitudes towards immigrants.

Shifting political approaches to the issue of asylum seekers since the mid-1970s in Australia — from bipartisan support for the resettlement of asylum seekers to the abandonment of bipartisanship in the early 2000s and a return to a kind of bipartisanship on *Pacific solutions* in the 2010s — the language of the asylum debate has evolved to a point where it may be intended to challenge the legitimacy of asylum seekers and appeal to voters who respond to a tough stance on border protection. However, available data brings into question the consequences of labelling asylum seekers and points to a complex relationship between the rhetoric of the asylum seeker debate and public attitudes.

In the next chapter, I explore attitudes towards immigrants drawing on AES cross-sectional data and describe how attitudes have changed over time.

Chapter 5 – Views towards immigration: 2001–2013

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides analysis of attitudes towards immigrants in Australia, drawing on data from the AES between the years 2001 and 2013. The purpose is to investigate several indicators of attitudes towards immigrants and to develop additive scales, where it is theoretically justified, that can be used in later analysis. In arriving at two additive scales concerning attitudes towards different aspects of immigration — immigration policy and the effects of immigration on society — and detailing a measure that addresses support for immigrants themselves, I analyse changes in attitudes over time and provide insight into the contextual factors that may have contributed to these changes.

The chapter will be organised in the following way. First, I describe responses to the seven questions from the AES concerning attitudes towards immigrants and immigration that have been asked consistently between 2001 and 2013. Second, I construct additive scales that address 'support for government immigration policy' and 'attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society'; a measure of support for immigrants themselves is presented as a single variable. Information on the construction of the scales can be found in Appendix A and Chapter 3, p. 74. The numerical range of the additive scales (one to five) is the same as the component measures, and these scales will be treated as continuous variables in later analysis as they hold finer detail than the single component measures.

5.2 Measures of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

In order to understand how attitudes towards immigrants have trended over time and to determine what can be understood about attitudes towards immigrants based on AES data, I conducted analysis of each of the questions relating to immigrants that were introduced in Chapter 3. With this knowledge, I then developed additive scales that address different aspects of attitudes towards the effects of immigration and immigration policy, which will be used in later analysis.

From 2001 to 2013, the AES consistently included seven measures of attitudes towards immigrants. Based on the factor analysis discussed in Chapter 3, p. 75, analysis that included measures of attitudes to other social issues, it would be possible to construct one additive index concerning the different dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants or immigration (see also Table 8.9, p. 236). However, combining the seven immigration variables into one, would result in a variable that would be difficult to interpret; keeping more readily related concepts together will aid interpretation of the multivariate analysis of the various dimensions of attitudes to immigration.

Over the following pages, I describe the seven measures of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from the AES[1] between the years 2001 and 2013. In presenting and discussing the questions from the AES, I also briefly discuss some of the contextual issues that respondents may have considered in providing their responses. Following the introduction of the immigration questions from the AES, I

[1] Marginal frequencies for the data presented here are also available for the period before 2001 in McAllister and Cameron (2014).

argue that they represent various aspects of attitudes towards immigration and describe their suitability to be combined into additive scales.

The first part of the analysis examines perceptions of whether government policy has allowed too many, or too few immigrants into Australia at the present time. The AES has consistently asked on this issue: "*The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right? The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time"* (Bean et al., 2014a). Respondents were given the option of categorical responses that range from "much too far", to "not nearly far enough" on a five-point scale. This question addresses perceptions of the present state-of-affairs, the number of immigrants allowed into Australia, and past government policy that facilitated the current number of migrants in the country.

The second part of this analysis considers attitudes towards future levels of immigration. This measure addresses desire for change in the community and seeks to identify the perception that immigration levels must be revised — to facilitate either more or less immigration. To measure this desire, the AES asks: *"The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right? Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?"* (Bean et al., 2014a).

The third part of this analysis considers perceptions of whether immigrants increase crime and if these perceptions have changed over time. The question is the first of a series of four questions, asked consecutively in the AES, which address

attitudes towards immigrants and their impact on society. On the topic of crime, the AES asks: *"There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Immigrants increase the crime rate"* (Bean et al., 2014a). Responses are measured on a five-point scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Similar to the AES's other questions concerning immigration, data is not collected concerning the respondents' personal experience – say, for instance, whether they have directly been affected by a crime perpetrated by an immigrant. Unfortunately, contact between immigrants and the locally-born population is not measured by the AES. This is not a deficiency of the AES as its focus is more general, but the lack of data on contact between immigrants and locally-born people prevents consideration of how attitudes may be mediated by contact.

The fourth part of this analysis addresses perceptions of the impact of immigration on the economy. In contrast to the previous question, which was phrased in the negative, this question is phrased in the positive and assesses whether immigrants have a positive effect on the economy. To ascertain perceptions of how immigrants contribute to the Australian economy the AES asks: *"There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy"* (Bean et al., 2014a).

The fifth part addresses perceptions of whether immigrants take jobs away from Australians and how, if at all, these perceptions have changed over time. To measure these attitudes, the AES asks: *"There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Immigrants take jobs away from people who are*

born in Australia" (Bean et al., 2014a). Like the previous questions in this series, this question measures perceptions of an issue which is frequently used in analysis of anti-immigration attitudes (see for example Scheve & Slaughter, 2001).

The sixth measure drawn from the AES examines the perception of whether or not immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures. To measure this issue, the AES asks: *"There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures"* (Bean et al., 2014a). This question — unlike the previous questions in the series, which address wider national concerns — is not among the commonly asked questions in immigration studies. It is not clear how this question is interpreted and whether respondents answer it with themselves in mind, or the wider community.

The seventh and final measures from the AES addresses attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants. This explores perceptions of fairness and opportunity for immigrants in the community, though the question does not specify where these opportunities should come from, nor hint at current policy to include migrants in the workforce, such as free language tuition, which is provided by State and Territory governments, or policies intended to encourage immigration such as age limits and skill registers. Nor are there any references to the hindrances to immigration, such as foreign education and competency recognition. The question does not address whether an individual knows a migrant or the opportunities or challenges they face. Nonetheless, to assess perceptions of equal opportunity and whether more should be done the AES asks: *"The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one,*

please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right? Equal opportunities for migrants." (Bean et al., 2014a).

As noted in Chapter 3, p. 76, the seven variables described above may be grouped into three categories of similar concepts: support for immigrants themselves, perceptions of government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration on the Australian community. Grouping the variables in this way, and constructing additive scales, will ease interpretation of the different dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants and yield variables that are reflective of attitudes towards these underlying concepts; the resulting additive scales will then be used as dependent variables in later analysis. Over the following pages, the seven immigration measures from the AES are grouped into three categories, and analysed in the context of the related additive scale. In the following analysis, like-response measures have been collapsed for ease of interpreting the data; that is, response categories that indicate a 'strong or very strong' response, and a 'weak or very weak' response, were collapsed[2]. Over the following pages, selected response categories are graphed and discussed, and full graphs for each of the manifest measures, including sample sizes, are reported in Appendices I and J.

5.3 Findings

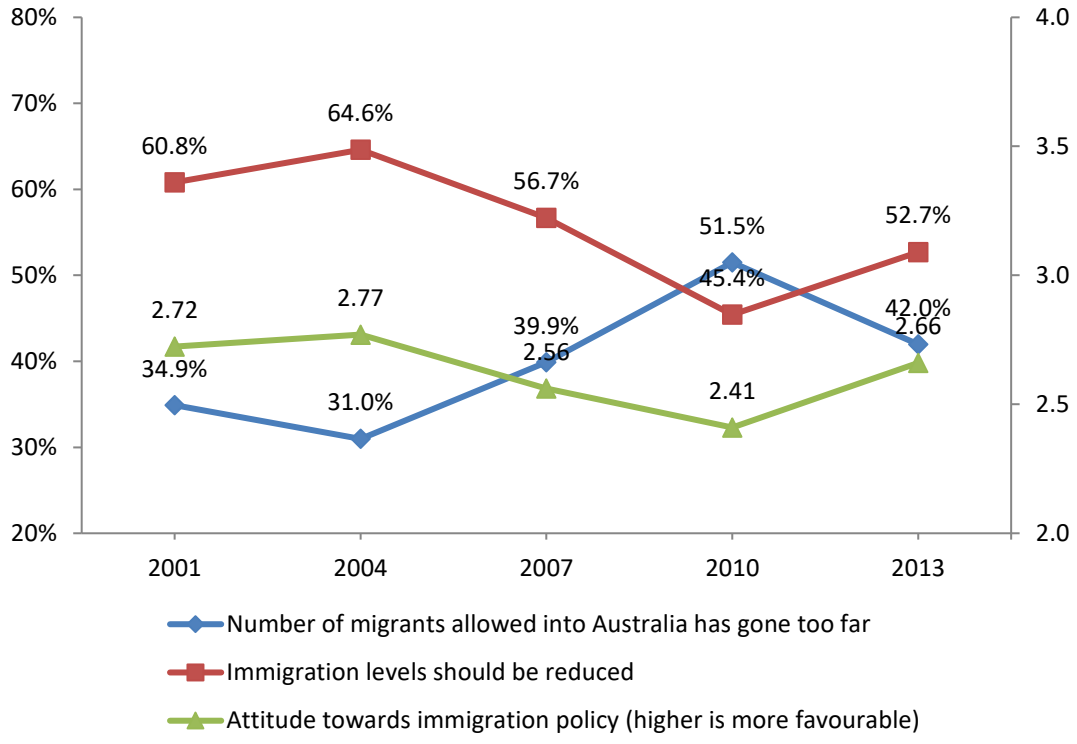
5.3.1 Government immigration policy

In this section, I consider perceptions of government immigration policy, drawing on AES measures concerning the number of migrants allowed into Australia, and

[2] The additive scales were constructed using the full range of values in the original nominal variables.

develop an additive scale for perceptions towards immigration policy. Perceptions of whether the number of migrants allowed into Australia has gone too far, varied considerably over the period 2001 to 2013. While the percentage of people who suggest that the number of migrants allowed into Australia is about right has fluctuated between approximately one-tenth and one-fifth (see Appendix I), the percentage of people who report that either too many or too few migrants have been allowed into the country has varied more widely. From a low of 31.0 per cent in 2004, the view that too many migrants were being allowed into Australia peaked at 51.5 per cent in 2010, but then decreased by close to ten percentage points to 42.0 per cent in the following AES, as can be seen in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Perceptions of government immigration policy, AES 2001–2013



Notes: Samples sizes for AES questions reported in Appendix I. Sample sizes for additive index: 2001, N=1933; 2004, N=1695; 2007, N=1797; 2010, N=2035(W); 2013, N=3803(W).

Perceptions that future levels of migration should be reduced have also varied as can be seen in Figure 5.1. The view that immigration levels should be reduced was the predominant view among respondents: in 2004, 64.6 per cent of respondents indicated that immigration levels should be reduced. This view decreased in prevalence between 2004 and 2010; by 2010, 45.4 per cent of respondents indicated that immigration levels should be reduced. In 2013, the percentage of respondents who indicated that immigration levels should be reduced had risen above half, to 52.7 per cent.

Constructing additive scales using component variables is a method used to investigate aggregate attitudes; this method is common and, by way of example, Rustenbach (2010) used such a method to examine attitudes towards immigrants drawing on European datasets. Rustenbach's scale used three variables, with a high Cronbach's alpha coefficient, concerning attitudes towards different aspects of immigration. These variables were: whether the effect is good or bad for the local economy when immigrants arrive from foreign countries; if this arrival is good or bad for the host country's cultural life; and the country in general (Rustenbach, 2010, p. 62). Rustenbach interpreted this additive scale to reveal anti-immigrant attitudes. Using this approach, I constructed an additive scale for perceptions of government immigration policy, which comprises the AES variables concerning perceptions of 'the numbers of migrants allowed into Australia' and whether 'immigration levels should be reduced' **(**Cronbach's alpha coefficient, $\alpha = 0.819$, $n = 11{,}221$; see also Appendix A). I then graphed the mean value for the additive scale at each AES between 2001 and 2013 on the secondary vertical axis of Figure 5.1. Higher values on the scale, which has a numerical range of one to five, represent more favourable attitudes towards government policy – or an openness to see levels of immigration

increase. As can be seen, the mean value varied during the period, reaching its lowest point in 2010 when the mean value was 2.41. This finding, which suggests respondents were more hostile to government immigration policy and would prefer to see immigration levels lowered in that year, likely reflects the negative attention in the media that was focused on 457 work visas. In the lead up to the 2010 election, the media placed a great deal of emphasis on the 457-class of visa, which allowed businesses to sponsor foreign workers to work temporarily in Australia, and whether the scheme had resulted in foreigners taking jobs that would have otherwise been filled by Australians. The reality was that the visas were predominantly used to fill highly-paid management and professional occupations (see Berg, 2013a), where there was little labour market competition. The highest mean value for the additive scale can be observed in 2004: M = 2.77.

5.3.2 The effects of immigration

This section considers perceptions of the effects of immigration on Australian society, and the discussion is focused on the four variables: that immigrants increase crime; are good for the economy; take jobs away from other Australians, and; that they make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures. Research has addressed perceptions of rates of crime in relation to the number of immigrants in communities (Hooghe et al., 2006, 2009; Makkai & Taylor, 2009; Van Dijk, 2000). On this topic, the AES asks respondents whether they believe immigrants increase the crime rate. Again, the kind of immigrants that respondents think of is not known — nor whether they also think about the descendants of immigrants in answering the question. It is possible that in responding to the question, they may also be thinking of asylum

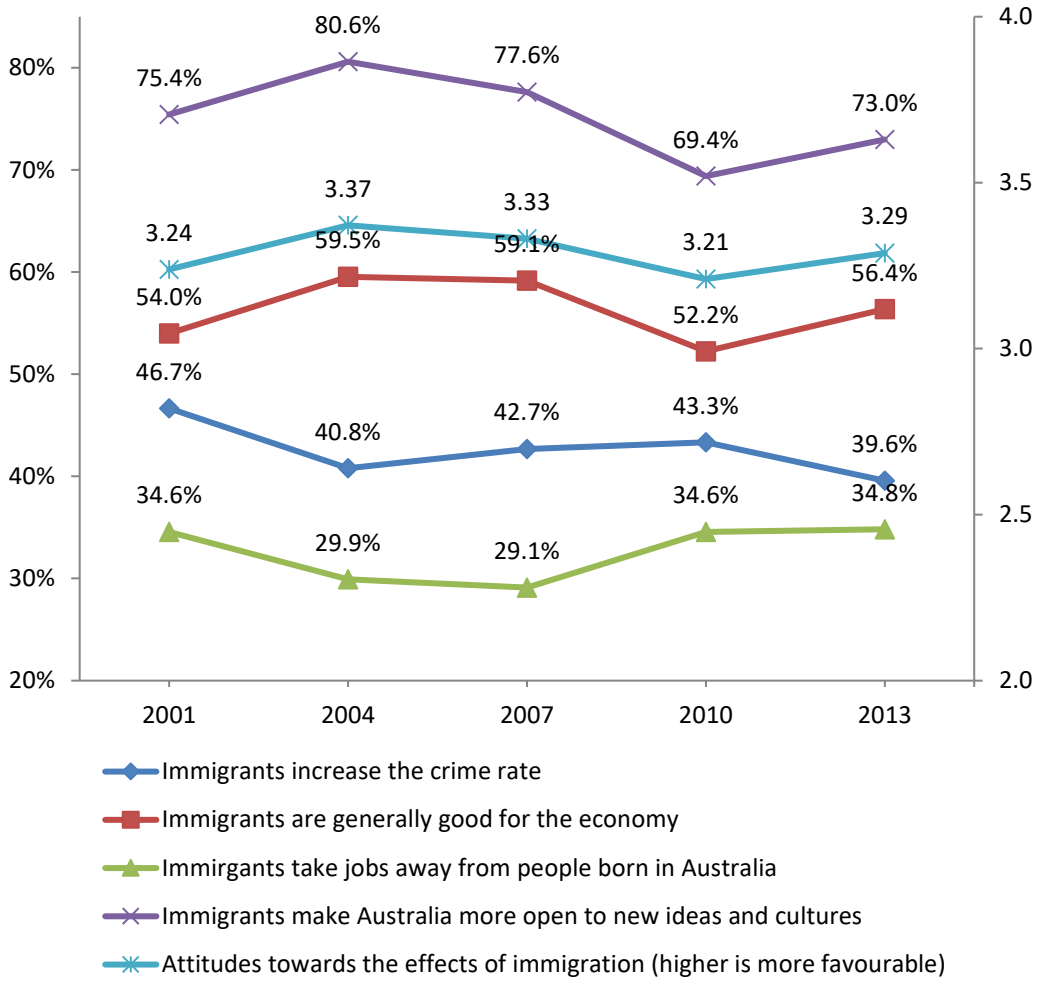
seekers, who are sometimes depicted as criminals who do not obey immigration laws, or are aligned with other forms of criminality and terrorism.

The predominant view across the period 2001 to 2013 was that immigrants increase the crime rate. In 2001, 46.7 per cent of respondents thought that immigrants increase the rate of crime, perhaps affected by the well-known terrorism and asylum-seeking events of that year including the children overboard affair (see Chapter 4, p. 104). From the mid-2000s a small decrease can be seen — see Figure 5.2 — when the view that immigrants increase crime fell to 40.8 per cent. From 2004 to 2010, an increase in the percentage of respondents who believe that immigrants increase crime can be seen: during that period the percentage of respondents who reported that immigrants increase crime rose by 2.5 per cent. This rise may be connected to well publicised accounts of racially motivated violence committed by, or directed at, immigrants during the early to mid-2000s. Most notable during this period were the Cronulla race riots of December 2005 (Poynting, 2006), and the well-publicised and lengthy trials and appeals of Lebanese-Australian gang members who were convicted of raping several Anglo-Celtic Australian women and teenage girls (Williams, 2012). From 2010 to 2013, perceptions that immigrants increase the rate of crime decreased by 3.7 per cent. This is an important finding in the context of the Reclaim Australia Movement, which during the latter years of the period 2001–2013 sought to place emphasis, especially though public demonstrations, on immigration and supposed links between immigrants and criminality (RA, 2015).

Attitudes towards immigrants are also perhaps shaped in some measure by views about the economy (Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Therefore, the AES asked questions about whether immigrants are good for the economy. The findings in Figure 5.2 show that, a consistent majority of respondents, ranging from

54.0 to 59.5 per cent, have responded that immigrants are good for the economy — see Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Perceptions of the effects of immigration, AES 2001–2013



Notes: Samples sizes for AES questions reported in Appendix J. Sample sizes for additive index: 2001, N=1955; 2004, N=1709; 2007, N=1822; 2010, N=2042(W); 2013, N=3829(W).

The opinion that immigrants are not good for the economy has remained stable across the period – more detail is provided in Appendix J (Figure 8.6, p. 246), which reveals that there is less than a five percentage point variance in this view.

While immigrants are viewed as good for the economy, and though the view that immigrants are good for the economy has been consistently positive, opinions varied concerning whether immigrants take jobs away from locally-born Australians.

The dominant view, between 2001 and 2007, was that immigrants do not take jobs away from Australians (see Appendix J). However, the 2010 data reveals an increase in the percentage of respondents who expressed the view that immigrants do take jobs away from Australians, and in 2010 this became the dominant view with more than one-third of respondents agreeing that immigrants take jobs away from locally-born Australians. In 2013, the view that immigrants do not take jobs away from Australians returned to being the dominant view, even though the number of respondents who answered that immigrants take jobs away from locally-born Australians increased slightly (see Figure 5.2; full detail included at Appendix J) perhaps as a result of the decline in discussion concerning 457 work visas (a program to bring skilled migrants to Australia, see above p. 122) which had been prominent around the 2010 election (Berg, 2013a).

The results reveal that between 2007 and 2010, concern that immigrants take jobs away from Australians increased by 5.5 percentage points – possibly coinciding with perceptions that job loses had occurred owing to the global financial crisis. By 2013, the number of respondents who are unsure whether immigrants take jobs decreased to 27.6 per cent from 31.2 per cent in 2010. Meanwhile, the percentage who believed immigrants do not take jobs away from Australians increased between 2010 and 2013, from 34.2 to 37.6 per cent (full detail included at Appendix J, Figure 8.7, p. 247).

Since the 1970s, immigration has changed the cultural landscape of Australia from principally comprising British and European migrants to one that now incorporates migrants from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including people from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Seeking to address perceptions of how migrants have changed other Australians, the AES asks respondents whether they

agree or disagree that immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures. Responses to this question have been very positive: 80.6 per cent agreed in 2004 that immigrants make Australia more open; the lowest value for the period was seen in 2010 when 69.4 per cent agreed that immigrants make Australia more open. Conversely, the percentage of respondents who believe that immigrants do not make Australia more open to ideas and cultures has been very low, never reaching 10 per cent between 2001 and 2013 (see Appendix J). Figure 5.2 also graphs the mean response for the additive scale for perceptions of the effects of immigration on Australian society on the secondary vertical axis **(**Cronbach's alpha coefficient, $\alpha = 0.782$, $n = 11{,}273$; see also Appendix A). On a scale of one to five, the mean response value for the additive scale of the four measures described above can be seen. Taking into account the original coding of the manifest variables, a higher numeric value on this scale reveals a more positive, or favourable, view of the effects of immigration on Australian society. There was substantial variation across the period, with low points in 2001 and 2010, when the mean values were 3.24 and 3.21 respectively. The high point for the period was in 2004 when the mean value was 3.37.

The mean values of the additive scale point to favourable attitudes towards perceptions of the effects of immigration on Australian society since 2001. However, immigration faced intense scrutiny during the 2010 election, as described above (p. 122), and the mean value was lower for that year. The decline of favourable attitudes can be observed between 2004 and 2010. However, this movement towards less favourable attitudes was in the context of attitudes that were generally favourable for much of the period 2001–2013; in 2013 the mean value for attitudes towards the effects of immigration is in fact slightly higher than it was in 2001.

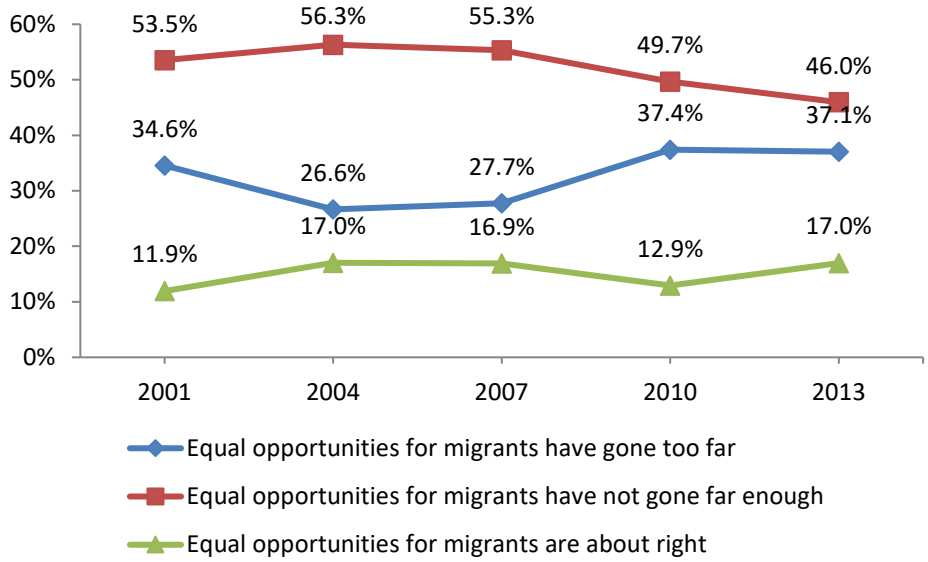
5.3.3 Support for immigrants

The AES collects responses concerning whether ‘equal opportunities’ for immigrants have gone too far. In the context of the discussion above, this single measure differs in that it is a measure of support for immigrants, while the other measures look at government policy and the effects of immigration on society. Little is known about how the question on equal opportunity for migrants is interpreted by respondents or about their knowledge concerning immigration issues. The question suggests, simply by the fact that it is asked, that immigrants are likely to face barriers in migrating to Australia. These obstacles could include finding employment, accommodation, learning the language, or navigating government support programs. If respondents have asylum seekers in mind when responding to the question, they may additionally consider the role of government in establishing barriers to migration as well as in providing a range of support mechanisms including welfare and other kinds of assistance.

The predominant view concerning equal opportunities for migrants, see Figure 5.3, is that opportunities have not gone far enough, but this view gradually decreased over the latter part of the period, while the view that opportunities have gone too far has increased. In 2013, close to two-fifths, 37.1 per cent, believed that equal opportunities for migrants have gone too far, 17.0 per cent believed opportunities are about right, and a little less than half, 46.0 per cent, reported that opportunities have not gone far enough. While there is variation in the data, the results show that the majority believe that there should be interventionist policies to increase opportunities for migrants. In revealing this view, the data suggest that

respondents perceive that obstacles exist to immigrants' success in Australia, though the data do not reveal what these obstacles are perceived to be.

Figure 5.3 Perceptions of equal opportunities for migrants, AES 2001–2013



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes*: five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?" LQ: "Equal opportunities for migrants."; 2001, N=1936; 2004, N=1685; 2007, N=1820; 2010, N=2021(W); 2013, N=3819(W).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have drawn on AES data to identify trends in attitudes towards immigrants between 2001 and 2013, and constructed additive scales concerning attitudes towards immigrants, which can be used for further analysis. The purpose of the empirical analysis presented in this chapter, was to examine support for immigration over time relying on a number of available indicators in the AES. The questions from the AES address attitudes towards different dimensions of

immigration: support for immigrants themselves, perceptions of government immigration policy, and the perceived impact of immigrants on the Australian community. I analysed responses to the seven measures of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, and found that attitudes have varied over time in response to some measures, for example, whether immigrants take jobs away from Australians or whether too many migrants were allowed into Australia. Attitudes to other aspects of immigration have remained relatively stable, such as whether immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures – where there was only a 10 per cent variance in favourable attitudes over the period 2001–2013.

Related concepts among the seven variables concerning immigrants and immigration were then grouped and used to construct two additive scales that address support for government immigration policy and the impact of immigrants on Australian society. The conflation of measures into an additive scale concerning the effects of immigration on society, showed that attitudes leant towards being favourable throughout the period 2001–2013, in spite of variations within the component measures. Meanwhile, the mean value of perceptions of government policy concerning immigration are far more neutral (the mean value was very close to 2.5 throughout the period). Measuring attitudes towards immigrants through the use of these additive scales is essential to gain both an understanding of how average attitudes have trended over time, and to develop dependent variables for use in the exploration of factors relating to attitudes.

In conclusion, this chapter has arrived at two reliable additive scales and examined a third measure from the AES to consider support for immigrants themselves, which can be used to extend understanding of the factors associated with attitudes. Through this investigation, it is possible to conclude that while individual

measures of attitudes towards various dimensions of immigration in the AES show fluctuating support for the effects of immigration and government policy, the additive scales reveal generally favourable attitudes.

In the following chapter, I examine the relationships of political, socioeconomic and other factors with attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society (using the additive scales developed in this chapter) and attitudes towards support for immigrants. The analysis reveals that some factors, such as political identification, have strong relationships with attitudes, while other measures, including socioeconomic measures, have questionable application to the study of attitudes towards immigration in the Australian context.

Chapter 6 – Factors associated with attitudes towards immigrants

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine attitudes towards immigrants in relation to background factors, socioeconomic measures, and partisanship — through a lens of attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, and support for immigrants themselves. Several factors and their relationships with attitudes towards immigrants have been the focus of empirical studies within political science and a number of theories have been developed offering different explanations for the formation of attitudes, as described in Chapter 2. I focus on human capital and economic competition theories, and seek to contribute to the development of political affiliation theory (through an examination of strength of partisanship, political interest and knowledge) in relation to attitudes. In this chapter, I address the research question:

> *Q1. To what extent do political affiliation, human capital and economic competition theories apply to the formation of attitudes towards regular immigrants in Australia?*

In order to address this question, I analyse a range of political and socioeconomic measures. As described in Chapters 3 and 5, three dependent variables are considered in this chapter. The first two dependent variables, attitudes towards immigration policy and attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society, are separate additive scales constructed using several component measures. The final dependent variable, support for immigrants themselves, is a categorical variable concerning attitudes towards equal opportunities for immigrants.

Political affiliation is assessed in reference to which party an individual identifies with and several measures that aim to assess the relationship between interest in politics (Bohman, 2011) and attitudes. Existing studies have shown that respondents on the political right tend to present less favourable attitudes towards immigrants than respondents who identify with the left (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Rustenbach, 2010). My intention is to contribute to political affiliation theory, which addresses liberal-conservative ideological position and alienation in relation to immigration attitudes (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996), by enriching understanding of the role of partisanship in relation to attitudes in Australia. Consequently, measures of political identification and strength of identification are included in the analysis in order to examine whether individuals who strongly identify with right-leaning parties, also hold more unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants in Australia.

The significance of partisanship and the scarcity of studies that focus on it has been noted by Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014). Likewise, there is a scarcity of research that investigates feelings about the voting system and election outcomes, in relation to attitudes towards immigrants. Australia is an unusual case, being among the five per cent of democracies where voting is compulsory for adults. The AES contains several variables that address perceptions of elections and the political process including support for compulsory voting, interest in politics, whether a respondent cares which party wins the election, and a measure of political knowledge. Notably, the AES also includes a measure concerning how strongly respondents identify with Australian political parties. Using this measure, it is possible to test the hypothesis that strong identification with a political party has a relationship with attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Education, income and type of occupation are also analysed in the context of economic competition and human capital theories. The components of socioeconomic status are kept separate in this analysis in order to test both human capital theory, looking singly at education qualifications, and economic competition theory, where I additionally examine the role of occupation and income in relation to attitudes. As described in Chapter 2, the most empirically tested theory dealing with attitudes towards immigrants is human capital theory (Card et al., 2012; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin et al., 1997; Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Fetzer, 2000; Gang et al., 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Mayda, 2006; Rustenbach, 2010). This theory suggests that more educated people express favourable attitudes towards immigrants because they do not perceive them as a threat in the labour market, because they are generally more tolerant of different races and cultures and have a more international outlook, or that educated respondents are simply more adept at concealing socially undesirable responses (see Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin et al., 1997; Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Fetzer, 2000; Gang et al., 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Janus, 2010, p. 930; Mayda, 2006; Rustenbach, 2010). Human capital theory is closely linked with economic competition theory which suggests that lower-skilled locally-born workers will have anti-immigrant attitudes as they perceive that they are in competition with low-skill immigrants for employment and resources (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001).

The key assumption that must be made to test the applicability of these theories to the Australian context concerns the kind of immigrants that AES respondents think about when they answer the immigration questions. Without the possibility of testing what kinds of immigrants respondents think about, or priming

them to think of certain kinds of immigrants before assessing their views, it must be assumed that the majority of respondents *do* think about regular immigrants, and do not think about asylum seekers arriving by boat (Augoustinos & Quinn, 2003; TMO, 2011). This assumption is supported by the factor analysis that was discussed in Chapter 3, where it was shown that the AES question concerning asylum seekers does not belong to the same factor as the questions concerning immigration (see, Chapter 3, p. 76; Appendix E, Table 8.9, p. 236).

Background factors are also included in the analysis and are an important consideration as previous research has identified relationships between factors such as age and gender, and attitudes. For example, Lamb (2011) and Pedersen et al. (2005) argue that being male has a relationship with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia; this analysis will identify whether the same is true concerning attitudes towards regular immigrants. Additionally, place of residence in Australia is included in the analysis, as other studies have shown this variable to have a significant relationship with attitudes towards another minority group in Australia – Australian Aboriginal peoples (Pedersen et al., 2000). Hence, it is possible that place of residence might share a similarly important relationship with attitudes towards immigrants, although immigrants comprise a much larger percentage of the Australian population[1] than Aboriginal peoples.

The chapter is set out as follows: firstly, I briefly examine the bivariate relationship between political identification and attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society. This bivariate analysis is used as an example to show the associations between political identification and attitudes, but also to reflect on the

[1] Immigrants comprise 28% of the total Australian population, estimate 2014, while Aboriginal peoples comprise 2.5%, estimate 2009 (ABS, 2009a, 2015a).

limited differences that are observable between the major parties in this kind of analysis. The remainder of the chapter is then divided into three main parts that deal with multivariate analyses concerning the dependent variables for attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, and support for immigrants themselves. Factors including gender, age, place of residence and birth, socioeconomic measures, and political identification are regressed against these dependent variables. Analysis of the combined AES dataset (which includes the years 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, and 2013) is presented and connections and contrasts made between the results for the dependent variables. I find that strongly identifying with the political right is associated with attitudes towards immigration, that the relationship between higher education and attitudes is not as straightforward as human capital theory suggests, and that there is little evidence to suggest that attitudes towards immigration are related to socioeconomic status. Finally, I conclude the chapter by drawing connections to existing studies.

6.2 Bivariate analysis – partisanship

Research has shown that those who identify with the political right hold more unfavourable views towards immigrants than those on the left (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Rustenbach, 2010). Table 6.1, p. 138, shows correlations between party identification and attitudes towards the effects of immigration using an AES survey question that asks respondents which political party they identify with.

During the period 2001 to 2013, the AES modified its main response categories to the question concerning political identification. In 2001, respondents were asked if they identified with the Liberal Party, Australian Labor Party, National

Party of Australia, Australian Democrats, Australian Greens, One Nation Party, other, or no party. However, by 2007, the Democrats and the One Nation Party had ceased to function and were no longer included in the AES question about party identification[2].

Across the period, the percentage of individuals who identified with either the Liberal or Labor parties and held unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration were mostly similar, and the changes in percentages reflect the general change in attitudes towards immigration over time. In fact, the percentage of respondents who held unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration is sometimes higher among supporters of the Labor Party, and sometimes higher among supporters of the Liberal Party. Bigger differences between parties, however, can be observed by comparing the other parties with the two main parties. On the political spectrum, the Nationals are more conservative than the Liberal Party, and the percentage of respondents who held unfavourable views is higher. Unsurprisingly, those who identified with the right-wing, anti-immigration One Nation Party held very unfavourable views, though the sample size (especially in 2004) was extremely small.

Sample sizes for "other" party were also quite small, but increased in size during the period. Notably, in 2013, when the sample size was largest, a significant portion of respondents held unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration; by percentage of respondents per party, only the Nationals had more unfavourable views. Additionally, this analysis, while showing statistical correlations between

[2] The Democrats and the One Nation Party will be considered in the bivariate analysis; however, owing to the small number of respondents who identified with these parties in 2001 and 2004, and that these parties ceased to be included in the AES from 2007, they have been added to the 'other' category in the multivariate analysis.

party identification and views towards the effects of immigration, also reveals the diversity of views among those who identify with the parties. For example, in 2013, a small percentage of those who identify with the Greens (which is a left-wing party) held unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants. This finding captures the diverse views among Greens supporters concerning immigration, and reflects the complex policy positions of the party itself. The Australian Greens policy position on immigration generally promotes ecological sustainability at the expense of population growth (Greens, 2015b), yet, at the same time, it supports Australia's multiculturalism, and skilled migration programs so long as they do not undermine wages (Greens, 2015a). The balance between these potentially conflicting goals is unclear. However, at a state election in 2014, the South Australian Greens allocated their preferences to the Stop Population Growth Now party. At the time, Greens politician and member of the Legislative Council (upper house) in the South Australian Parliament, Mark Parnell, said “We don’t want more people, we want to stabilise the population”(Owen, 2014), which suggests that at least some leaders in the party oppose immigration.

There are also disparate views expressed by those who identify with the Labor Party: the percentage of those who hold unfavourable views is reasonably consistent throughout the period, which suggests there is a group within Labor that harbours unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants. It may be the case that these different views capture internal factional divisions within the party, though without empirical evidence it is not possible to confirm this assertion.

Table 6.1 Bivariate analysis of unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration by party identification, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013

	Unfavourable view of effects of immigration									
	2001		2004		2007		2010		2013	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Liberals	18.1	129	16.5	114	13.7	89	24.8	183	23.5	311
Labor	20.4	137	16.2	86	17.6	117	21.1	163	18.1	242
Nationals	21.7	15	20.8	11	25.4	16	40.9	27	30.7	43
Democrats	7.8	4	9.1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Greens	15.1	8	2.4	2	6.1	6	6.6	8	4.2	10
One Nation	58.7	27	22.2	2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other	8.3	1	18.8	3	22.6	7	30.5	18	25.7	38
No Party	19.6	56	14.1	38	15.6	43	20.2	57	18.4	118
Total N		1903		1662		1780		2040		3828
Chi-square	χ^2=51.80*** *df* =7		χ^2=14.12* *df* =7		χ^2=16.32** *df* =7		χ^2=36.56*** *df* =5		χ^2=64.18*** *df* =5	

Data source: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); (W) AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); (W) AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* For the purposes of establishing a simple statistical relationship between the variables, and to provide a table than can be referred to in the following chapter where a categorical variable is the focus, in this analysis the scale variable 'effects of immigration on society' was recoded into a binary variable, where a numerical value of less than 2.5, on the scale of 1 to 5, was construed to be an unfavourable view of the effects of immigration; * statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$.

The analysis reveals little separation between Liberal and Labor party supporters. More contrast can be seen between the conservative Nationals, major parties, and left-leaning Greens (especially in the latter AES datasets when the sample size was increased). Clearly the expectation that respondents who identify with right-leaning parties will have unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants (in this case towards the effects of immigration on society) is partly confirmed by the large percentage of respondents who hold unfavourable attitudes and identify with One Nation (during the early part of period) and the Nationals. However, given the likelihood that other factors also hold important relationships with the dependent variables concerning attitudes towards the effects of immigration, government immigration policy, and support for immigrants, it is essential to control for other

factors using multivariate analysis for each of the three dependent variables: attitudes towards immigration policy, attitudes towards the effects of immigration, and attitudes towards support for immigrants.

6.3 Multivariate findings

In this section, I investigate the relationships between political identification, interest and knowledge, background factors, and attitudes towards immigrants. Three OLS models have been constructed for the combined AES dataset (2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013) to consider attitudes towards different aspects of immigration. As stated in Chapter 3, these background, political and socioeconomic measures were selected in order to test the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1 – these hypotheses are included below for reference. The discussion begins by considering attitudes towards immigration policy, moves to attitudes towards the effects of immigration, and then to attitudes towards support for immigrants. A conclusion is made explaining differences and similarities between the regression models.

Each regression model is used to assess support for the following hypotheses in the context of attitudes towards immigration policy, the effects of immigration on Australian society and support for immigrants – these hypotheses relate to both asylum seekers and regular immigrants, but only regular immigrants are considered in this chapter, while asylum seekers are considered in the next chapter. The hypotheses are:

H1: Low income, low education, and working in non-professional occupations will have negative relationships with attitudes towards immigrants, which will confirm the applicability of economic competition theory to the Australian situation.

H2: University educated individuals will hold more favourable views towards asylum seekers and immigrants than non-university educated individuals, confirming human capital theory.

H3. Individuals with lower levels of political knowledge and interest will hold more unfavourable views towards both asylum seekers and immigrants compared to those who have higher levels of political knowledge and interest.

H4: Strongly identifying with the Australian political right will correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in line with existing research that has identified a left-right division. In effect, strong party identification will compound the effect of partisanship.

Statistically significant relationships between the variables are identified and discussed in the context of the theories introduced in Chapter 2 in order to test support for the above hypotheses. I do not argue that the relationships between the independent and outcome variables reveal causal pathways. Similar to the research of Hawley (2011), who regressed party identification on support for restrictionist immigration policies, this analysis regresses party identification and other variables on attitudes in order to test for relationships between the variables. This approach has been chosen to provide a relatively straightforward method that can be used to test the hypotheses proposed above.

In the following sub-sections, I discuss the results of the regression analyses for attitudes towards immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, and attitudes towards equal opportunities for immigrants, and organise the findings under sub-headings that relate to the theoretical concepts of human capital and economic competition theories, and political affiliation theory.

6.3.1 Findings – immigration policy

The results of my analysis concerning attitudes towards immigration policy are presented in Table 6.2, p. 146. This analysis was performed using the GENLIN function in SPSS, which can be used to produce both linear and ordered logistic regression coefficients[3]. However, the GENLIN function does not generate a single statistic showing the goodness of fit of the model. Noting that R-squared results are generally not discussed in generalised linear model texts (see IBM, 2016; McCullagh & Nelder, 1989), a test of model effects is consequently presented in Appendix K. This test indicates those terms in the model that have a discernible relationship with the dependent variable, and statistically significant results are discussed below as necessary. To prepare for this analysis, variables of interest in the AES were firstly recoded as described in Appendix A and combined into one dataset. Descriptive statistics for these variables were calculated and were reported in Chapter 3 when the AES was introduced. Next, the variables were included in the regression models and multicollinearity assessed using the correlation matrix for parameter estimates; no evidence of multicollinearity was found.

Economic competition and human capital theories

Contrary to H1 — that low income, low education, and working in non-professional occupations, will have negative relationships with attitudes towards immigrants — the data does not indicate statistically significant relationships between socioeconomic factors and attitudes towards government immigration policy. For economic competition theory to be supported, we would expect to see income,

[3] This function was used to produce the ordered logistic regressions included in Appendix L.

profession type, and qualification all sharing statistically significant relationships with attitudes towards government immigration policy, but this is not the case.

Socioeconomic status was measured across the period as separate measures rather than a combined measure. This was done to ensure each aspect of socioeconomic status could be discretely analysed. In terms of education, being university educated was shown to have positive relationships with government immigration policy. Likewise, holding a diploma was shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes towards immigration policy; however, the coefficient was slightly less than that seen for university education. Relative to the base category, which is no post-school qualification, trade and other qualifications were shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards immigration policy. This is an important finding. Economic competition theory suggests that as skill increases (through post-school educational attainment) anti-immigration sentiment should decline (Kunovich, 2017). The results for diploma qualifications and university education appear to support that argument. However, this data indicates that other kinds of post-school educational attainment, those captured by trade and other qualifications, have negative relationships with attitudes towards immigration policy. This finding does not indicate a causal relationship, but could indicate that those with certain kinds of skills (i.e. trades, certificates, etc.) are wary of immigration and perceive a threat based on the number of regular immigrants in the labour market.

Relative to professionals, identifying as a clerical or sales worker, or a labourer was also shown to have negative relationship with attitudes towards government immigration policy. The result for clerical and sales workers was not statistically significant. However, the significant negative coefficient for labourers suggests that those in low-skill occupations may consider competition in the labour

market when prompted to think about the number of migrants being allowed into Australia under government policy.

Turning to income, for economic competition theory to be supported, there should be a negative relationship between low income and attitudes towards government immigration policy – which relates to the number of migrants entering Australia and potentially creating more competition in the labour market. However, the result for low income, and the category to account for individuals who did not report their income, were not statistically significant.

Turning to the hypothesis H2, that university educated individuals will hold more favourable views towards immigrants than non-university educated individuals, the data suggests that this theory is confirmed as there is a strong relationship between being university educated and more positive views towards government immigration policy. However, the finding concerning qualifications complicates the simple acceptance of human capital theory and it is necessary to return to this finding in the context of the findings for the other dependent variables.

Partisanship and political interest

Previous studies have argued that right-leaning respondents will express more negative attitudes towards different aspects of immigration and immigrants compared to those who identify with the left (Rustenbach, 2010). Given the difficulties described earlier in this thesis concerning self-reported political leaning (see discussion, p. 64), here I consider which political party respondents identify with, instead of looking at the left-right spectrum. However, to relate my research to other studies that have focused on left-right differences, I identify the political leanings of Australian political parties in the text as necessary.

In the model, party identification interacts with strength of partisanship. The model shows that the relationship between partisan attitudes towards government immigration policy for those who strongly identify with the political right, is negative and statistically significant (H4). Statistically significant relationships with immigration policy were not born out for strongly identifying with the Greens and other minor parties in relation to attitudes towards immigration policy. The specification for the interaction between 'no party' and strong party ID will not be interpreted. Higher political knowledge was shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes towards immigration policy, confirming H3 – that higher levels of political knowledge would be associated with more favourable attitudes. Having low or no interest in politics also has a relationship with attitudes towards government policy, which is negative and statistically significant. Likewise, voting only because it is compulsory to do so has a negative relationship with attitudes towards government policy.

Control variables and attitudes

As described above, several background variables were included in the model to function as controls. Additionally, I considered adding an interaction between gender and age to the model in order to deepen understanding of the relationships between these two variables, and attitudes. The presence of a significant interaction term in the model would indicate that attitudes are different for gender depending on the age of the respondent. However, this interaction term was not significant and was consequently dropped from the model. The variable for age was found to have a statistically significant, negative relationship with attitudes towards government policy concerning immigration. The finding concerning age is consistent with

existing research on attitudes towards immigrants which suggests that as age increases, individuals have less favourable attitudes (see Pedersen et al., 2000; Walker, 1994).

This analysis also reveals a positive relationship between being born aboard and attitudes towards government policy (see generally, Fennelly & Federico, 2008). While this finding is not readily connected to human capital, political affiliation, or economic competition theories, it is important in the Australian context. In particular, this finding shows support for immigrants among immigrants. While the importance of immigrant support networks has been shown in other studies (see, Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006), this finding confirms the general importance of place of birth in relationship to attitudes towards immigration policy. In Australia, this is particularly important bearing in mind that more than one-quarter of the population were born abroad (ABS, 2015b). By contrast, living in a rural area is shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards government policy concerning immigration.

Year was controlled for in the analysis. The findings show opinion shifted over the period of the study. Relative to the base category, which is 2013, statistically significant regression coefficients can be observed for 2001, 2004 and 2010. The regression coefficient for 2010 is negative – which was the year in which attitudes towards the various dimensions of immigration were most hostile (see Chapter 5).

Table 6.2 Favourable attitudes towards immigration policy, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	b	SE
Party identification		
National	-0.057	0.098
Liberal	-0.106 **	0.041
Greens	0.362 ***	0.078
Other	0.003	0.099
No party	0.102	0.104
Labor	-	-
Political interest and knowledge		
Very strong supporter	0.115 ***	0.036
Strength not reported	-0.117	0.125
Not very strong supporter	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.111***	0.023
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.003	0.025
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.157***	0.027
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-
Political knowledge	0.036***	0.007
Party identification x strength		
National *x* very strong	-0.320 **	0.115
National *x* strength not reported	0.312	0.484
National *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.231 ***	0.048
Liberal *x* strength not reported	-0.045	0.170
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-	
Greens *x* very strong	-0.022	0.094
Greens *x* strength not reported	-0.402	0.548
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Other *x* very strong	-0.333 **	0.119
Other *x* strength not reported	0.128	0.225
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
No party *x* very strong	-0.529	0.275
No party *x* strength not reported	0.029	0.163
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Labor *x* very strong	-	-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-	-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Socioeconomic measures		
University educated	0.461 ***	0.027
Diploma	0.164 ***	0.032
Other qualification	-0.115 ***	0.024
No qualification	-	-
Occupation not reported	0.012	0.034
Clerical and sales	-0.045	0.025
Labourer	-0.058 *	0.026
Professional	-	-
Income not reported	-0.067	0.041
Low income	0.003	0.023
Moderate to high income	-	-
Background		
Male	0.022	0.019
Female	-	-
Age	-0.003***	0.001
Born abroad	0.237***	0.022
Born in Australia	-	-
Rural	-0.163***	0.019

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	Urban	-	-
Year			
	2001	0.187 ***	0.028
	2004	0.138 ***	0.031
	2007	-0.054	0.029
	2010	-0.238 ***	0.026
	2013	-	-
Intercept		2.700 ***	.0579
(N)		9861	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, $**p \leq .01$, $***p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

6.3.2 Findings – effects of immigration

Economic competition and human capital theories

The data presented in Table 6.3, p. 152, shows the relationships between socioeconomic factors and attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society. The dependent variable in this analysis, perceptions of the effects of immigration on society, includes perceptions that immigrants take jobs away from locally-born workers, immigrants are good for the economy, immigrants increase crime, and immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas. Similar to the analysis presented above, for economic competition theory to be supported, income, profession type, and qualification should all share statistically significant relationships with attitudes towards the dependent variable, which would demonstrate that the effects of immigration on society are viewed through a lens of economic concern, or competition.

University and diploma qualifications, have positive, statistically significant relationships with attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society. This finding lends support to the application of human capital theory to the study of attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Trade and other kinds of qualifications, conversely, have a negative relationship, as does working as a labourer. Low income

was not shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. To test the robustness of this finding, I additionally regressed the same terms on the single measure concerning attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs away from locally-born workers. The results of an OLS model for this dependent variable are presented alongside the results for the model concerning overall attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society in Table 6.3. The coefficients for whether immigrants take jobs are presented as linear estimates — even though the dependent variable is a categorical measure — to avoid confusion between what the regression coefficients represent in the Table. Higher values for this dependent variable indicate that immigrants do not take jobs away from locally-born people. For completeness, an ordered logistic regression concerning whether immigrants take jobs is presented in Appendix L, which revealed largely the same results.

By and large, the directionality of the regression coefficients for perceptions of whether immigrants take jobs are similar to those observed in relation to the overall effects of immigration on society. However, one notable difference is that when the model *only* concerns attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs, low income is shown to be statistically significant in the model. Noting that working as a labourer was also shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs (and the effects of immigration), it may be the case here that low-skill, low-pay workers are anxious about the perceived economic consequences of immigration on the labour market. This would support the findings of Scheve and Slaughter (2001), who argued that immigration attitudes are at least partly established in material self-interest, even if the actual economic consequences of immigration are positive (Wright, 2013). On the surface, these findings appear to

offer support for H1, that economic competition theory is applicable to the formation of attitudes, but this only appears to be the case when the issue of jobs is specifically prompted. Scholars have noted that the wording of questions is critical in assessing attitudes towards immigrants (Segovia & Defever, 2010), and research points to the inconsequential effect of economic factors (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010). I will return to this discussion in the conclusion of this chapter.

Partisanship and political interest

The data indicate statistically significant relationships between strongly identifying with a political party and attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Like the analysis concerning attitudes towards immigration policy, strongly identifying with the Liberals or Nationals has a negative relationship with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Conversely, strongly identifying with the Greens (the political left in Australia) has a positive relationship with attitudes, relative to the centrist-left Labor reference category. These findings support H4: that strongly identifying with the Australian political right will correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants in line with existing research that has identified a left-right division, and that strong party identification will compound the effect of partisanship.

The results described above are all made in reference to the Labor reference category. Noting that the coefficient value produced in the models for the 'very strong identification' main effect is in fact 'very strongly identifying with Labor', and the reference category is not very strong Labor, it is possible to draw additional conclusions about the coefficients by examining differences between the parties. For example, the difference between very strong Liberal and very strong Labor would be

$$\left(\beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta^{\text{VS}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}\right) - \left(\beta_{\text{Lab}} + \beta^{\text{VS}} + \beta_{\text{Lab}}^{\text{VS}}\right) = \beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}$$

where $\beta_{\text{Lib}}$is the coefficient from 'Liberal' and $\beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}$ is the interaction term from 'Liberal *x* Very strong'. Using this formula, and noting the β_{Lab} and $\beta_{\text{Lab}}^{\text{VS}}$ equal zero, the differences between coefficients can be calculated to observe differences between the party identifiers, beyond just comparing the coefficients to the Labor reference category. Even so, the values for the difference between very strong Liberal and very strong Labour would be –0.060 – 0.168 = –0.228. Therefore, a very strong Liberal supporter would be 0.228 units on the scale for attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society less supportive than a strong Labor supporter. To take another example, the difference between very strong Liberal and very strong National supporters in the model would equal $\left(\beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}\right) - \left(\beta_{\text{Nat}} + \beta_{\text{Nat}}^{\text{VS}}\right)$. The difference between very strong Liberals and very strong Nationals would be (–0.060 – 0.168) – (–0.052 – 0.222) = 0.046. This indicates that there is very little difference between strong supporters of the Liberals and Nationals in relation to attitudes towards the effects of immigration.

Higher political knowledge has a positive relationship with attitudes, confirming H3, that individuals with lower levels of political knowledge and interest will hold more unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration compared to those who have higher levels of political knowledge and interest. Likewise, having low, or no, interest in politics and 'voting only because it is compulsory' were shown to have negative relationships with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Even so, not caring which party wins the election was not shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes.

Control variables and attitudes

Neither gender nor age were shown to have statistically significant relationships with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Place of birth and place of residence have statistically significant relationships with attitudes that are very similar to those described in relation to attitudes towards government immigration policy: being born abroad has a strong positive relationship with attitudes towards the perceived effects of immigration on society, while living in a rural area has a negative relationship.

One especially notable finding in this analysis was the function of year on attitudes. Relative to 2013, 2010 was shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards the effects of immigration: the data showed 2010 to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. In the lead up to the 2010 federal election, the effects of immigration in undermining the Australian job market and introducing unnecessary competition with locally-born workers was prominent in the media, and average attitudes were at their lowest point during the period (see Figure 5.2, p. 124), which explains the negative coefficient for that year.

Table 6.3 Favourable attitudes towards the effects of immigration, and whether immigrants take jobs, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Effects of immigration		Immigrants take jobs	
	b	SE	b	SE
Party identification				
National	-0.052	0.075	0.108	0.109
Liberal	-0.060*	0.031	0.064	0.046
Greens	0.192***	0.059	0.223*	0.087
Other	-0.028	0.075	0.049	0.110
No party	0.026	0.078	0.124	0.114
Labor	-	-	-	-
Political interest and knowledge				
Very strong supporter	0.026	0.027	0.047	0.040
Strength not reported	-0.240*	0.094	-0.394**	0.140
Not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.156***	0.017	-0.180***	0.026
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-		-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.026	0.019	-0.023	0.028
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-		-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.171***	0.020	-0.217***	0.030
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-	-	-
Political knowledge	0.037***	0.005	0.048***	0.007
Party identification x strength				
National x very strong	-0.222*	0.087	-0.288*	0.128
National x strength not reported	0.192	0.366	0.226	0.541
National x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Liberal x very strong	-0.168***	0.036	-0.237***	0.054
Liberal x strength not reported	0.131	0.127	0.195	0.189
Liberal x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Greens x very strong	0.184*	0.071	0.293**	0.105
Greens x strength not reported	0.336	0.415	0.803	0.613
Greens x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Other x very strong	-0.138	0.090	-0.199	0.133
Other x strength not reported	0.179	0.169	0.214	0.250
Other x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
No party x very strong	-0.298	0.208	-0.566	0.306
No party x strength not reported	0.226	0.122	0.326	0.181
No party x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Labor x very strong	-	-	-	-
Labor x strength not reported	-	-	-	-
Labor x not very strong supporter	-	-	-	-
Socioeconomic measures				
University educated	0.440***	0.020	0.546***	0.030
Diploma	0.205***	0.024	0.271***	0.035
Other qualification	-0.050**	0.018	-0.029	0.027
No qualification	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	-0.026	0.026	0.007	0.038
Clerical and sales	-0.039*	0.019	-0.032	0.028
Labourer	-0.068***	0.019	-0.087**	0.029
Professional	-	-	-	-
Income not reported	-0.042	0.031	<0.001	0.046
Low income	-0.014	0.017	-0.077**	0.025
Moderate to high income	-	-	-	-

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Background				
Male	-0.009	0.015	0.003	0.021
Female	-	-	-	-
Age	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.001
Born abroad	0.249***	0.017	0.339***	0.024
Born in Australia	-	-	-	-
Rural	-0.166***	0.015	-0.196***	0.022
Urban	-	-	-	-
Year				
2001	0.027	0.021	0.074*	0.032
2004	0.063**	0.023	0.062	0.034
2007	0.053*	0.022	0.121***	0.032
2010	-0.071***	0.020	-0.037	0.029
2013	-	-	-	-
Intercept	3.246***	0.044	2.875***	0.065
(N)	9942		9951	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

6.3.3 Findings – support for immigrants

In this section, I present analysis of the dependent variable concerning attitudes towards support for immigrants through perceptions of whether more needs to be done to provide immigrants with equal opportunities. Once again, a regression model is discussed. This model addresses attitudes towards support for immigrants as the dependent variable. The models in the previous sections were presented as linear estimates because the dependent variables for attitudes towards immigration policy and the effects of immigration on society were additive scales. In this section, I treat the dependent variable as interval in nature and present linear model estimates to facilitate interpretation and comparison of the directionality of the coefficients in the model with the regression models shown in the previous sections. Higher values indicate that equal opportunities for migrants have not gone far enough. Nonetheless, an ordered logistic regression model was also run in order to test the robustness of

the findings discussed in this section. This additional regression model produced similar results, which are presented in Appendix L.

Economic competition and human capital theories

Table 6.4, p. 156, presents the results for attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants. The data reveal post-school qualifications have positive, statistically significant, relationships with attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants. By contrast, income does not have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes. Not reporting income was shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes. Conversely, not reporting an occupational category was shown to have a minor, though statistically significant, positive relationship with attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants. Identifying as a labourer was also shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes, though this finding did not reach the 5 per cent statistical significance threshold.

Partisanship and political interest

The data indicate a statistically significant negative relationship between strongly identifying with the Liberals and attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants, relative to the Labor reference category. This finding lends support to H4, that strongly identifying with the Australian political right will correlate with unfavourable attitudes, which is in line with existing research that has identified a left-right division in respect to attitudes towards immigration. In this case, however, strongly identifying with the conservative Nationals was not shown to be statistically significant. This could be caused by some degree of difference between the socioeconomic experiences of those who strongly identify with the Liberals and those who strongly identify with the Nationals, and how these experiences affect

their perceptions of opportunity. Again, higher political knowledge has a positive relationship with attitudes, confirming H3, that having low, or no, interest in politics have negative relationships with attitudes.

Control variables and attitudes

In respect to attitudes towards equal opportunity for migrants, no interaction was observed between gender and age, and the interaction term was dropped from the model. Nonetheless, gender and age were retained in the model as independent variables. Being male is shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards equal opportunity for migrants, as was being older. Being born abroad and living in a rural area are associated with positive and negative relationships with attitudes respectively. In contrast to attitudes towards the effects of immigration on Australian society, year has a more important relationship with attitudes towards support for immigrants. Relative to the base category, 2013, statistically significant and positive relationships are observed in 2001, 2004, and 2007. The regression coefficient for 2010 was negative, though not statistically different from 2013.

Table 6.4 Favourable attitudes towards equal opportunity for migrants, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	b	SE
Party identification		
National	-0.222 *	0.092
Liberal	-0.130 ***	0.039
Greens	0.389 ***	0.074
Other	-0.114	0.093
No party	0.140	0.096
Labor	-	-
Political interest and knowledge		
Very strong supporter	0.108 ***	0.033
Strength not reported	-0.029	0.115
Not very strong supporter	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.055 *	0.022
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	0.010	0.023
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.134 ***	0.025
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-
Political knowledge	0.032 ***	0.006
Party identification x strength		
National *x* very strong	-0.077	0.108
National *x* strength not reported	0.199	0.410
National *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.201 ***	0.045
Liberal *x* strength not reported	-0.221	0.157
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Greens *x* very strong	0.103	0.088
Greens *x* strength not reported	-0.019	0.514
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Other *x* very strong	-0.077	0.112
Other *x* strength not reported	0.110	0.210
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
No party *x* very strong	-0.247	0.257
No party *x* strength not reported	-0.047	0.149
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Labor *x* very strong	-	-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-	-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Socioeconomic measures		
University educated	0.358 ***	0.025
Diploma	0.082 **	0.030
Other qualification	-0.107 ***	0.023
No qualification	-	-
Occupation not reported	0.080 *	0.032
Clerical and sales	-0.002	0.024
Labourer	-0.031	0.024
Professional	-	-
Income not reported	-0.084 *	0.039
Low income	-0.002	0.021
Moderate to high income	-	-
Background		
Male	-0.044 *	0.018
Female	-	-
Age	-0.002 **	0.001
Born abroad	0.218 ***	0.021
Born in Australia	-	-
Rural	-0.104 ***	0.018

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	Urban	-	-
Year			
	2001	0.104 ***	0.026
	2004	0.210 ***	0.029
	2007	0.201 ***	0.027
	2010	-0.010	0.023
	2013	-	-
Intercept		2.655	0.054
(N)		9873	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

6.4 Discussion and conclusion

The results of the models provide insight into the relationships between several background factors and attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, and support for immigrants (measured by perceptions of equal opportunities for immigrants). The analysis of attitudes towards the effects of immigration reveals the importance of strongly identifying with the political right (see Pedersen et al., 2005; Rustenbach, 2010). This analysis confirms the expectation that strongly identifying with the political right has a compounding influence on attitudes: strongly identifying with the Liberals or Nationals was shown to have a negative relationship (relative to the centrist-left Labor reference category) with attitudes towards government policy concerning the number of migrants allowed into Australia, and the effects of immigration on society; strongly identifying with the Liberals was shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants. Negative coefficients were seen for strongly identifying with the political right concerning attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society and government immigration policy – both concepts where partisan ideology and rhetoric likely play a role in respondents' understanding and perception (or misperceptions) of the issues.

Evidence was also shown that confirmed that strongly identifying with a left-wing party had a significant positive relationship with attitudes towards the effects of immigration. Combined, these findings enrich understanding of political affiliation and its general applicability to the Australian political context, and indicate that partisan positions remain important across multiple ways of measuring attitudes towards immigration. Examining three different measures of attitudes to immigration (attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration, and equal opportunities for migrants) combined with additional analysis specifically addressing whether immigrants take jobs away from local workers, has provided the benefit of being able to observe the different function of terms in the models.

While the function of political identification and strength of identification is reasonably consistent across the models, socioeconomic measures are not consistent across the models; the requisite components of economic competition were most prominent in the analysis concerning whether immigrants take jobs away from locally born workers. Thus, the data suggest that economic concerns are important for low-skilled and low-income individuals when the issue of labour market competition is specifically prompted using a question that asks whether immigrants take jobs. This could be the result of acquiescence bias, where respondents simply agree with the question (Cronbach, 1942; Watson, 1992), without taking into consideration contradictory information or their wider experience, and it is widely accepted that immigration attitudes vary depending on the question that is asked (Segovia & Defever, 2010). Bearing this in mind, the additive-scale dependent variable for the effects of immigration on society was developed to provide a measure to analyse a broader concept than that captured by a single question. In that analysis, university education and working as a labourer were shown to have

statistically significant positive and negative relationships with attitudes respectively, but income was not shown to be significant.

These results may suggest that when prompted to think about economic issues, respondents anticipate the economic effects of immigration (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Yet, the inconsistent relationships between socioeconomic factors and the dependent variables across the models for the effects of immigration and government immigration policy, in part support scholarly challenges to economic concerns being a major driver of attitudes towards immigrants (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). There is a caveat to this conclusion: the dataset that was used to perform this analysis is missing a substantial number of responses concerning income and occupation, and future studies should seek to redress this limitation. While these findings make a useful contribution to scholarly challenges to the role of economic competition in relation to attitudes, the alignment of Australian studies with international research may be enhanced by adopting questions from foreign studies that lead survey respondents to more clearly delineate between different kinds of immigrants, and their skills. This will have the benefit of either definitively ruling out, or confirming, economic considerations as a core driver of attitudes.

The analysis also reveals the importance of other background factors such as age, being born abroad, living in a rural area, and having university education in relation to attitudes. In particular, being older was shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards immigration policy, and equal opportunities for immigrants, though not the effects of immigration. Being born abroad had a strong relationship with all three dimensions of attitudes towards immigration, as did living in a rural area. It is important, however, to recognise that

the models presented in this chapter do not consider familial or other personal relationships, or an individual's proximity to migrant communities, which could also shape attitudes (Fetzer, 2000; Hanson et al., 2007).

Having a university education was shown to have an important relationship with attitudes towards all three dependent variables, which supports human capital theory. Yet, while this finding alone is supportive of human capital theory, the finding that other kinds of post-school qualifications had negative relationships with attitudes towards the effects of immigration and immigration policy confounds the concept that more education has a linear relationship with generally more favourable attitudes to immigrants. I will return to education in the following chapter concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers.

In the following chapter I consider attitudes towards asylum seekers using the same theoretical approach. The outcome of regression analyses is explained, and the results discussed in reference to this chapter, in order to identify differences between the models concerning attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers.

Chapter 7 – Factors associated with attitudes towards asylum seekers

7.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the relationships between background factors — gender, age, place of birth and residence — socioeconomic measures, and political identification with attitudes towards asylum seekers. The Australian case provides a distinctive set of circumstances for enhancing knowledge concerning attitudes towards immigration and asylum seekers. Firstly, Australia is a democracy with compulsory voting which demands a high level of public involvement in elections – and at several elections during the period 2001–2013, the issue of how to respond to asylum seeker arrivals featured prominently in political debate. Secondly, Australia is separated from other countries by substantial distances across oceans – unlike in the United States, for example, there are no land borders across which migrants can attempt passage. In effect, migrants coming to Australia must arrive by means, plane or boat, that are readily subject to government (and media) scrutiny. Thirdly, a great deal of emphasis was placed on asylum seeking and boat arrivals by political elites during the federal election campaigns between 2001 and 2013. The Australian case thus allows for an examination of the alignment of individuals with political parties — in a system where voting is compulsory and as such unaffected by the issues of voter turnout that are present in other democracies — and attitudes towards asylum seekers.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is little consensus concerning which (or to what degree) background and other factors relate to attitude formation with the

exception that university education is generally recognised as a factor that relates to favourable attitudes towards immigrants: research has identified that university educated individuals hold more favourable views towards immigrants than non-university educated individuals (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Holbrook, 2014; Rustenbach, 2010; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001; Vliegenthart, 2007). In this chapter I build on this knowledge and broaden understanding concerning education, economic competition, and political identification in relation to attitudes towards asylum seekers by exploring the research questions:

Q2. To what extent, if at all, is it conceptually justifiable to apply theories dealing with attitude formation towards regular immigrants to the study of attitudes towards irregular immigrants, through an exploration of attitudes towards asylum seekers arriving by boat in the case of Australia?

Q3. Do concerns about economic competition apply to both categories of regular and irregular immigration in Australia?

In order to address these research questions, I test the same hypotheses that were tested in the previous chapter concerning attitudes towards immigrants:

H1: Low income, low education, and working in non-professional occupations will have negative relationships with attitudes towards immigrants, which will confirm the applicability of economic competition theory to the Australian situation.

H2: University educated individuals will hold more favourable views towards asylum seekers and immigrants than non-university educated individuals, confirming human capital theory.

H3. Individuals with low levels of political knowledge will hold more unfavourable views towards both asylum seekers and immigrants compared to those who have high levels of political knowledge.

H4: Strongly identifying with the Australian political right will correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in line

with existing research that has identified a left-right division. In effect, strong party identification will compound the effect of partisanship.

To test the hypotheses above, and ascertain the applicability to asylum seekers of attitudinal theories dealing with other kinds of immigrants, I consider the following factors: gender, age, place of residence and birth, education, occupation type, income, political identification and interest.

Noting the positive relationships between both university education and political knowledge in the models concerning attitudes towards different aspects of immigration — presented in the previous chapter — in this chapter I probe the issue of education further and investigate knowledge concerning asylum issues and whether low levels of knowledge correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers. This addresses the following research question:

Q5. Does a high level of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers?

Based on previous studies that have shown that low levels of knowledge concerning other kinds of immigrants generally correlate with unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants (Citrin & Sides, 2008; Sides & Citrin, 2007), I test the following hypothesis:

H5: High levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues will correlate with more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.

The key dependent variable in this chapter is drawn from the AES and concerns opinions on whether asylum seeker boats should be turned back. Between 2001 and 2013, and across five federal elections, the AES asked respondents four times whether they agree that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back – the question was not asked following the 2007 federal election when the issue was

not politically salient (see Table 3.3, p. 53). As with many other measures of attitudes in the AES, original responses were recorded on a five-point scale. The question asks: "*Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, [neither agree nor disagree], disagree or strongly disagree[…] All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back.*" (Bean et al., 2014a) This question has been used as a dependent variable in research addressing attitudes towards asylum seekers. For example, using this question as a dependent variable, McAllister (2003) considered the function of several factors in relation to attitudes. Though the question specifically probes views concerning whether asylum boats should be 'turned back,' at some points in the discussion I will consider this question as a proxy for favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers more generally.

In reference to the 2001 federal election, McAllister (2003) suggests that voters may have linked the Howard Government's border protection policies relating to turning back boats carrying asylum seekers, with the goal of reducing migration levels, or of maintaining current levels (2003, p. 455). This argument ties perceptions of regular immigrants with perceptions of irregular immigrants: with asylum seekers receiving significant media attention (Boulus et al., 2013) at the time, it is possible that some respondents may have made this connection. If this connection is persistent across time, the findings of this chapter should closely resemble the findings that were made in the previous chapter concerning attitudes towards immigrants, and we would expect to see similar results in the analyses overall. However, this is not so; in the case of attitudes towards asylum seekers, far more pronounced relationships are observed between political identification and attitudes.

This chapter is organised in the following way: in the first part of the chapter I explore the few measures of attitudes towards asylum seekers that have been included in the AES. This is done to examine attitudes towards asylum seekers drawing on the AES and to develop a sense of how attitudes have changed over time. Later in the chapter, I discuss the findings of bivariate and multivariate analysis concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers. I then examine the relationship between knowledge of asylum issues and attitudes among a sample of university students. Finally, I discuss the findings in the context of international scholarship and the findings made in this thesis concerning attitudes towards immigrants.

7.2 Attitudes towards asylum seekers

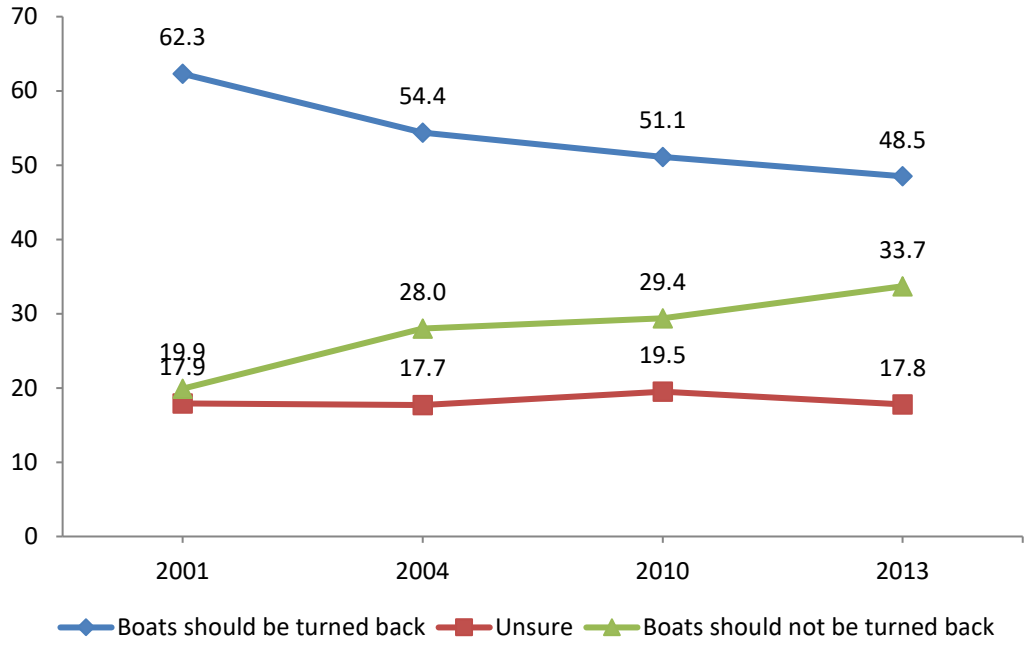
Between 2001 and 2013, attitudes towards asylum seekers have been measured in the AES following each federal election, except for the AES that followed the 2007 election. The number of questions is limited, as discussed below, and only one question has been asked in several surveys. The most asked question concerns whether asylum seeker boats should be turned back, but additional questions concerning the perceived genuineness of asylum seekers and the methods of processing their claims once they arrive have also been asked sporadically; the full list of questions asked in the AES pertaining to asylum seekers was shown in Chapter 3, Table 3.3, and the results of the salient questions are summarised in this chapter.

Between 2001 and 2013, desire to turn back boats carrying asylum seekers has decreased. This is readily apparent if the data is graphed: taking the boats question and collapsing the five response categories into three categories (by combining the agree categories, and the disagree categories) reveals that between

2001 and 2013 those who reported that boats should be turned back decreased by 13.8 per cent (see Figure 7.1, p. 166).

Those who are unsure whether the boats should be turned back, has remained under 20 per cent across the period. By 2013, hostility towards asylum seekers had decreased and 48.5 per cent of respondents felt that boats should be turned back, while 33.7 per cent reported the boats should not be turned back. In the same year, 17.8 per cent of respondents were in the neutral category — a figure which is largely consistent across the period.

Figure 7.1 Attitudes towards whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, per cent, AES 2001–2013

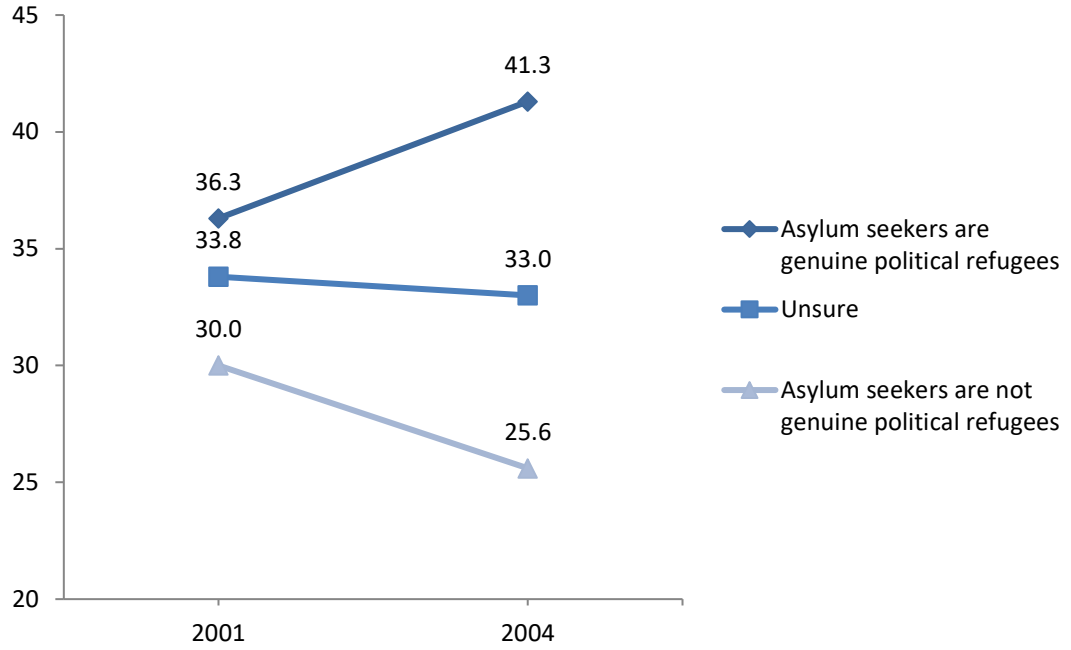


Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* Five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements." LQ: "All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back." 2001, N=1967; 2004, N=1950; 2007, N=1820; (W) 2010, N=2051; (W) 2013, N=3826.

In the 2001 and 2004 iterations of the AES, an attempt was made to gauge the extent to which people seeking asylum in Australia were perceived as having a

genuine cause to seek asylum. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: “Most of those people seeking asylum in Australia are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland.” (Bean et al., 2004; Bean et al., 2005). Given that the social categorisations of asylum seekers (discussed in Chapter 4) that were strongly asserted by many political elites at the time questioned the genuineness of asylum seekers, positioned them as economic migrants, aligned them with criminality, or made them appear undesirable in other ways, it might be expected that the results would show that asylum seekers were not believed to be genuine. Figure 7.2 shows 36.3 per cent of respondents believed asylum seekers were genuine political refugees in 2001, and this climbed to 41.3 per cent by 2004. Thirty per cent held the view that asylum seekers were not genuine political refugees in 2001, but this fell to 25.6 per cent in 2004. Notably, the number of respondents who were unsure whether asylum seekers arriving by boat were genuine political refugees was around one-third in both 2001 and 2004. These figures are revealing as they tend to suggest that individuals consider the genuineness of asylum seekers separately from the issue of whether boats should be turned back; this is especially notable in 2001 when 62.3 per cent of people thought the boats should be turned back, Figure 7.1, while only 30.0 per cent believed that asylum seekers were not genuine political refugees, Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2 Perceptions of the genuineness of asylum seekers, per cent, AES 2001–2004



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005). *Notes:* Five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" LQ: "Most of those people seeking asylum in Australia are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland." 2001, N=1943; 2004, N=1961.

A bivariate analysis of the data from 2001 and 2004 points to these mixed feelings. Table 7.1 reveals that among those who believed that asylum seekers were genuine political refugees in 2001, 47.8 per cent held unfavourable views towards them, answering that the boats should be turned back; unsurprisingly, of those who did not consider asylum seekers to be genuine, 82.5 per cent held unfavourable views.

Table 7.1 Bivariate analysis of attitudes towards asylum seekers and perceptions of genuineness, AES 2001, 2004

	Turn back asylum boats 2001					
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total	(n)	Chi-square
Genuine						
Agree	47.8	15.5	36.8	100	699	
Unsure	59.4	26.7	13.9	100	648	
Disagree	82.5	11.1	6.4	100	577	χ^2=271.65*** *df*=4
	Turn back asylum boats 2004					
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total	(n)	Chi-square
Genuine						
Agree	40.3	17.1	42.6	100	796	
Unsure	53.9	26.0	20.0	100	634	
Disagree	73.6	13.2	13.2	100	492	χ^2=204.46*** *df*=4

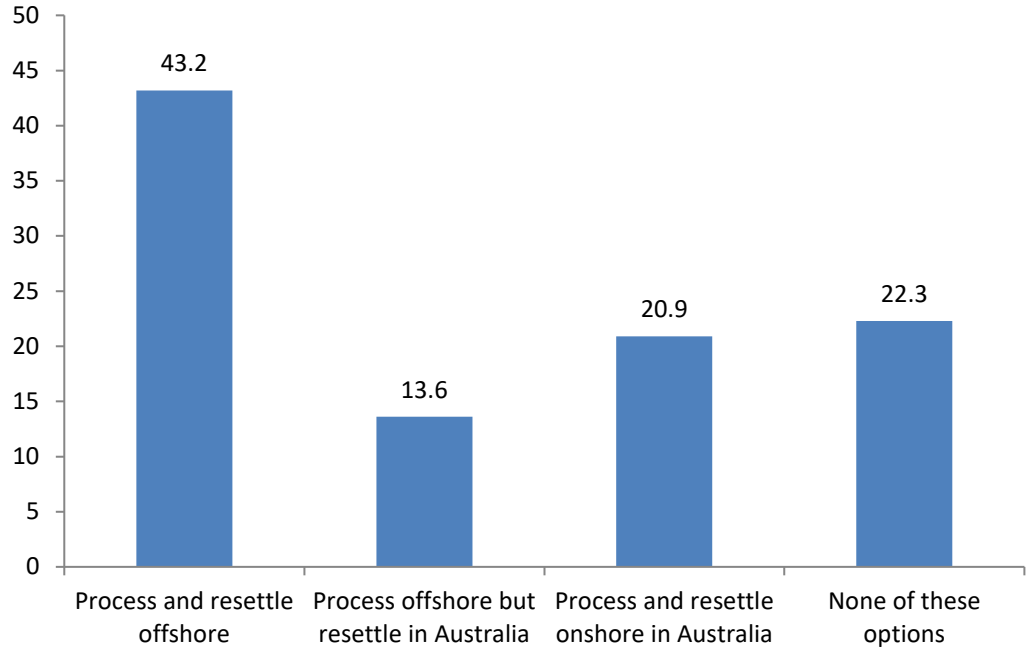
Data sources*:* AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005). *Notes:* *** Statistically significant at p < .001

Table 7.1 also shows the results for 2004. In that year, 40.3 per cent believed that the boats should be turned back, even though they also thought that asylum seekers were genuine political refugees, and 53.9 per cent of those who thought the boats should be turned back were unsure whether asylum seekers were genuine political refugees or not. These results indicate that many respondents believe asylum seekers to have genuine grounds on which to claim asylum, but at the same time do not believe that they should come to Australia by boat.

One other question specifically addressing asylum seekers was asked by the AES during the period 2001–2013. In the 2013 AES, a question was asked that sought to gauge attitudes about what direction government policy should take in relation to asylum seeker boats. The question was: “What do you think is the best way to handle the processing and resettlement of asylum seekers who come by boat

and manage to reach Australian waters?" (Bean et al., 2014b). Responses to this question reflect a strong desire for asylum seekers to be processed offshore: 43.2 per cent of respondents answered that processing and resettlement should be completed offshore, while another 13.6 per cent of respondents were supportive of offshore processing but would allow asylum seekers to be resettled in Australia, see Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 Responses concerning how to process asylum seekers, AES 2013, per cent



Data source: AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* LQ: "What do you think is the best way to handle the processing and resettlement of asylum seekers who come by boat and manage to reach Australian waters?"; N = 3812 (W).

Some 20.9 per cent responded that asylum seekers should be processed and resettled onshore in Australia, while 22.3 per cent answered that none of these options were suitable — this result likely captures a range of disparate responses from those who do not know what to do, to those who are uninterested, to those who prefer softer or harder options to those listed. These results show that there was strong consensus

among the surveyed individuals that those who attempt to reach Australia by boat should be processed offshore, but the question remains whether this was an important consideration in choosing a political candidate at the election.

7.3 Bivariate findings – partisanship

Research has shown that right-leaning individuals, which in Australia include Liberal and Nationals supporters, are predisposed to oppose immigrants more generally (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Lamb, 2011; Rustenbach, 2010). Like in the case of attitudes towards the effects of immigration discussed in the previous chapter, the findings in this chapter indicate that there is a strong correlation between political identification and attitudes to asylum seekers. In this case, however, the relationships between party identification and attitudes are even more prominent with clearer differences emerging between the major parties. Table 7.2, p. 172, shows the results of a contingency analysis of political party identification and attitudes towards asylum seekers in 2001, 2004, 2010 and 2013.

In 2001, the results show that of those respondents who identify with the Liberal Party, almost three-quarters held the view that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back. By contrast, only half of those who identified with the Labor Party had the same view. While fewer than 50 respondents identified with the One Nation Party, 83.0 per cent of them held the view that the boats should be turned back. This result contrasts with the result for those who identified with the Australian Democrats and the Greens where 37.3 and 32.1 per cent held the same view, respectively. Notably, a large number of respondents did not identify with any party

and some 54.5 per cent of those respondents held the same view that boats should be turned back.

Table 7.2 Bivariate analysis of attitudes towards asylum seekers by party identification, AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013

	Per cent who agree asylum boats should be turned back							
	2001		2004		2010		2013	
	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)
Liberals	74.5	721	68.6	688	62.3	742	65.5	1328
Labor	54.2	679	44.3	539	45.5	782	39.1	1341
Nationals	75.4	69	73.6	53	84.8	66	67.4	138
Democrats	37.3	51	72.7	11	---	---	---	---
Greens	32.1	53	16.9	83	19.7	122	15.2	237
One Nation	83.0	47	90.0	10	---	---	---	---
Other	66.7	12	25.0	16	40.7	59	44.4	151
No Party	54.5	286	47.4	268	45.6	283	42.1	644
Total		1918		1668		2054		3839
Chi-square	χ^2=234.81*** *df*=28		χ^2=256.70*** *df*=28		χ^2=214.13*** *df*=20		χ^2=593.45*** *df*=20	

Data source: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* * Statistically significant at p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Weighted and rounded results for 2010 and 2013.

The 2004 AES main response categories for political identification were the same as in 2001. Table 7.2 reveals generally more favourable views towards asylum seekers in 2004. The major parties have fewer respondents indicating a preference to turn back the boats in 2004 compared to 2001, however the same cannot be said for those who identify with the One Nation Party and the Australian Democrats: 90.0 per cent of those who identified with the One Nation Party and 72.2 per cent of those who identified with the Australian Democrats believed asylum boats should be turned back. This result is not surprising for One Nation given their prominent opposition to immigrants and asylum seekers (Jupp, 1998). The result for the

Democrats may be explained by the party's policy position on immigration, which aimed to limit Australia's population to an environmentally sustainable level (Coulter, 2001). However, it must be noted that the sample for individuals identifying with the Democrats was extremely small and the result should not be taken to be representative. Note also that the party lost three senators at the 2004 federal election and parliamentary status the following year.

The main response categories for political identification had been revised by the AES authors by 2010, and no longer included categories for the Democrats or One Nation following the demise of those parties. The results show that of those who identified with the Nationals, some 84.8 per cent thought asylum boats should be turned back. Far more of those who identified with the Liberals held the view that boats should be turned back than did those who identified with Labor, at 62.3 and 45.5 per cent respectively. Of those who identify with the Greens, only 19.7 per cent believed that asylum boats should be turned back.

The analysis also shows a strong correlation between party identification and attitudes in 2013. Notably the percentage of respondents who identify with the Liberals and Nationals and who believe asylum boats should be turned back were roughly equal at 65.5 and 67.4 per cent respectively. Conversely, the percentage of Labor supporters who preferred to turn back asylum boats in that year was just 39.1 per cent. Even fewer Greens supporters expressed the view that boats should be turned back; only 15.2 per cent of those respondents who identified with the Greens expressed the view. For those who identified with another minor party, or no party at all, approximately two-fifths of both groups expressed the view that the boats should be turned back.

Overall, a lessening of hostility towards asylum seekers can be seen between 2001 and 2013. The differences are perhaps most notable among Labor supporters, where there is a 15.1 point difference between 2001 and 2013. The difference between 2001 and 2013 for the Liberals and Nationals is less, with 9.0 and 8.0 point differences respectively. The findings presented here are largely in line with what would be expected under political affiliation theory in terms of left-right divisions, and are similar to those discussed in Chapter 6 (p. 138) concerning attitudes towards the effects of immigration. However, here the differences between supporters of left and right-leaning parties are even more prominent in regard to asylum seekers. In the next section, I consider political identification while controlling for other factors, using multivariate analysis.

7.4 Multivariate findings

In this section, I investigate the relationships between several background factors and attitudes towards turning back boats carrying asylum seekers. Existing theory concerning attitudes towards regular immigrants guided the selection of variables in the regression model that is presented in this section. Level of education, occupation type, and income were included as they are likely to reveal the applicability of human capital and economic competition theories. In order to provide greater detail than only identifying those who are university educated and those who are not, the data was coded to reveal those who have studied at university, those who have completed other post-school qualifications, and those respondents who have not completed post-school study. Occupations were similarly coded to reflect three divisions: professional occupations, clerical and sales workers, and labourers. Income was coded to reflect differences between low, and moderate to high income

earners, but also to account for the large percentage of missing responses for this measure – see Appendix A.

Gender was included on the basis that gendered explanations for attitudes in Australia have been offered in both a general sense (McAllister, 2011) and specifically concerning asylum seekers (Pedersen et al., 2005). Further, an interaction term between gender and age is included in the model to test if attitudes are different for gender depending on the age of the respondent. Ethnicity is not included in the analysis, however a binary variable concerning place of birth is included in order to differentiate between those Australians who were born abroad and those who were born locally. Similarly, place of residence is included, with the expectation that those respondents who live in rural areas will have less exposure to asylum seekers and, consequently, less favourable attitudes.

7.4.1 Findings

The results of my analysis concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers are presented in Table 7.3, p. 181. Like the regression analysis presented in the previous chapter concerning attitudes towards immigration, this analysis was performed using the GENLIN function in SPSS, which does not generate a single statistic showing the goodness of fit of the model – this function was used so that the results of an ordered logistic regression could also be presented. Again, R-squared results are generally not discussed in generalised linear model texts (see IBM, 2016; McCullagh & Nelder, 1989) and, consequently, a test of model effects is presented in Appendix K, that indicates which variables contribute to the model. Like the analysis of attitudes towards equal opportunities for immigrants that was presented in the previous chapter, the dependent variable for attitudes towards asylum seekers is presented as a

linear model, even though the dependent variable is a categorical measure. Treating the measure as interval data, and using linear regression, has been done in order to examine the directionality of the coefficients in the context of the earlier analysis concerning attitudes towards immigration policy and the effects of immigration on society, where linear estimates were presented for scale-type dependent variables. Noting that the dependent variable presented in this section is categorical, ordered logistic regression analysis was also performed in order to test the robustness of the findings. This additional analysis is presented in Appendix L and produced coefficients that have similar relationships with the dependent variable, which confirms the robustness of the model as discussed in the following text.

Economic competition and human capital theories

The model indicates a statistically significant positive relationship between education and attitudes towards asylum seekers. A similar finding can be seen for those holding diploma qualifications. That is, those with university education or diplomas have more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, or are less inclined to respond that boats should be tuned back, relative to the base category of no qualification. Working as a labourer was shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, though this finding did not meet standard levels of statistical significance. This finding may suggest that the trade labour movement, which publicly supports asylum seekers (see ACTU, 2012), has had some effect on the attitudes of working labourers. According to the Australian Council of Trade Unions, "[w]hile Australia has a right to protect its borders and manage an orderly immigration program, asylum seekers should not become a political football"(ACTU, 2010). Unions were also vocal in opposing Labor's plan to divert asylum boats to Papua New Guinea (AFR, 2013).

Low income was not shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This is an important finding in the context of asylum seekers being painted as economic migrants by political elites (see discussion p. 89) – but here there is no evidence to suggest that low-income individuals express more negative views relative to those on higher incomes. However, as noted in the previous chapter, a large percentage of respondents did not answer the income question and were placed into the 'did not report income' category in order to determine if not reporting income had relevance in the regression models.

Notably, not reporting income was shown to have a negative, statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, relative to the reference category of moderate to high income – a similar relationship was observed in the previous chapter concerning attitudes towards equal opportunities for immigrants, see Table 6.4, p. 156. There are many reasons why respondents may not respond to survey questions (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2001; Brick & Kalton, 1996). It could be the case that these respondents simply had privacy concerns, or it could be the case that those who did not respond had very low, or very high, incomes and chose not to report them, or the respondents could share some other quality. This finding leads to further questions concerning those who choose not to report income, which I will return to in the conclusion of this chapter and the concluding chapter of this thesis. Considering these three socioeconomic measures, economic competition does not appear to be related to attitudes towards asylum seekers.

Partisanship and political interest

The model shows that the relationship between partisan attitudes towards asylum seekers, for those who strongly identify with the political right, is negative and statistically significant. Much like the partisan differences that Albertson and

Gadarian (2012) observed among Democrats and Republicans in terms of attitudes towards irregular immigration in the United States, here partisan differences can be seen between strong Liberal and Labour supporters (the reference category). The interaction effects in the model suggest that strongly identifying with a right-leaning party, the Liberal or National parties, compounds the negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers – confirming the hypothesis that strongly identifying with the political right will compound the effect of partisanship. Statistically significant results were not identified for the Greens, Other, or No party.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the statistical significance of the terms in the model is relative to the reference category, which is Labor. Using the formula discussed in the previous chapter, it is possible to additionally consider the differences between interaction terms relating to strength of political identification. As stated previously, the difference between very strong Liberal and very strong Labor would be

$$\left(\beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta^{\text{VS}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}\right) - \left(\beta_{\text{Lab}} + \beta^{\text{VS}} + \beta_{\text{Lab}}^{\text{VS}}\right) = \beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}$$

where $\beta_{\text{Lib}}$is the coefficient from 'Liberal' and $\beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}$ is the interaction term from 'Liberal *x* Very strong'. Using this formula, the values for this difference would be $\left(\beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}\right) - \left(\beta_{\text{Lab}} + \beta_{\text{Lab}}^{\text{VS}}\right)$ = –0.465 – 0.444 = –0.909. To take another example, the difference between very strong Liberal and very strong National in the model would be $\left(\beta_{\text{Lib}} + \beta_{\text{Lib}}^{\text{VS}}\right) - \left(\beta_{\text{Nat}} + \beta_{\text{Nat}}^{\text{VS}}\right)$ = (–0.465 – 0.444) – (–0.283 – 0.718) = 0.092. Therefore, a very strong Liberal identifier is 0.092 units more supportive of asylum seekers than a very strong National identifier.

Items demonstrating an interest in politics, the political system and the election outcome were expected to reveal that respondents who are interested in the political process would have more favourable attitudes. Low or no support for

compulsory voting, not caring which party wins the election, and having low interest in politics were all shown to have statistically significant negative relationships with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Political knowledge, meanwhile, was shown to have a positive relationship with tested attitudes, confirming the hypothesis that individuals with higher levels of political knowledge will hold more favourable views towards asylum seekers.

Based on these findings, the hypothesis that individuals with lower levels of political knowledge and interest will hold more unfavourable views towards asylum seekers is confirmed, as is the hypothesis that strongly identifying with the political right will have a compounding and negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Relative to the analysis that was performed in the previous chapter concerning attitudes towards immigration, one notable difference can be seen in that not caring which party wins was statistically significant in this regression model and had a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers.

Control variables and attitudes

The data indicate a statistically significant relationship between an interaction term for gender and age, and attitudes towards asylum seekers. This interaction term for gender and age was added to the model in order to increase understanding of the relationships between these two variables, and attitudes towards asylum seekers. The presence of a significant interaction term in the model indicates that attitudes are different for gender depending on the age of the respondent (see also Pedersen et al., 2000; Walker, 1994).

Living in a rural area is shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Contrary to the findings presented in relation to attitudes towards immigrants, place of birth does not have a statistically significant

relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. In the context of my earlier finding that being born abroad has a positive relationship with attitudes towards immigration, being born abroad does not have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This is a particularly notable finding which suggests that immigrants, who form a substantial portion of the Australian population, do not hold the same positive views towards asylum seekers that they do towards regular immigrants.

Year was controlled for in the analysis and revealed decreasing hostility towards asylum seekers. Relative to the base category, 2013, the regression coefficients indicate attitudes were more negative in 2001, 2004 and 2010. This suggests that over time attitudes have become more favourable, and were most favourable in the reference year, 2013.

Table 7.3 Favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	b	SE
Party identification		
National	-0.283 *	0.136
Liberal	-0.465 ***	0.058
Greens	0.586 ***	0.111
Other	-0.155	0.134
No party	-0.175	0.174
Labor	-	-
Political interest and knowledge		
Very strong supporter	0.137 **	0.050
Strength not reported	-0.125	0.204
Not very strong supporter	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.158 ***	0.033
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.108 **	0.036
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.269 ***	0.038
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-
Political knowledge	0.057 ***	0.009
Party identification x strength		
National *x* very strong	-0.718 ***	0.162
National *x* strength not reported	-0.009	0.892
National *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.444 ***	0.069
Liberal *x* strength not reported	-0.288	0.281
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Greens *x* very strong	0.154	0.134
Greens *x* strength not reported	-0.247	0.737
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Other *x* very strong	-0.201	0.164
Other *x* strength not reported	0.214	0.325
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
No party *x* very strong	-0.462	0.570
No party *x* strength not reported	0.216	0.268
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Labor *x* very strong	-	-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-	-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Socioeconomic measures		
University educated	0.765 ***	0.039
Diploma	0.359 ***	0.046
Other qualification	-0.034	0.035
No qualification	-	-
Occupation not reported	0.015	0.048
Clerical and sales	-0.020	0.036
Labourer	-0.058	0.037
Professional	-	-
Income not reported	-0.123 *	0.058
Low income	-0.011	0.032
Moderate to high income	-	-
Background		
Male	0.165	0.087
Female	-	-
Age	-0.002	0.001
Male *x* age	-0.004 **	0.002
Female *x* age	-	-
Born abroad	-0.027	0.032
Born in Australia	-	-
Rural	-0.209 ***	0.028

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	Urban	-	-
Year			
	2001	-0.300 ***	0.038
	2004	-0.150 ***	0.041
	2010	-0.092 **	0.035
	2013	-	-
Intercept		2.939 ***	0.093
(N)		8454	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, $**p \leq .01$, $***p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

7.5 Knowledge of asylum issues

As described in Chapter 3, I collected additional data in the Immigration and Political Affiliation Study in order to address the following research question:

> *Q5. Does a high level of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers?*

Based on existing research, which suggests that low levels of knowledge of issues concerning regular immigrants correlate with unfavourable attitudes (Citrin & Sides, 2008), I hypothesised that this would also be true concerning asylum seekers:

> *H6. Higher levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues will correlate with more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.*

The survey I conducted included the question from the AES about whether asylum seeker boats should be turned back, and a ten-question quiz about asylum issues. As can be seen in Table 7.4, highly favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers were demonstrated by the respondents, which may suggest an element of opt-in bias as potential respondents were aware that the survey was about immigration, as the title of the study indicated, and could reasonably have assumed questions would be asked about asylum seekers. Table 7.4 shows that only 15 respondents agreed or strongly agreed that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, which equates to 9.3 per cent of the sample. This result may be

contrasted against the wider AES sample; in the 2013 AES, which was conducted in the year before my study, 48.5 per cent of respondents agreed that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back (see Figure 7.1, 166). Table 7.4 also provides a comparison of the university sample to a subset of AES respondents. Noting that close to four fifths of the university student sample were aged under 25 (see Chapter 3, p. 83), I selected respondents from the 2013 AES who were aged between 18 and 25, and who also indicated that they were a 'full-time school or university student' in the employment status question. The 18–25 year old students from the 2013 AES also demonstrate a strong preference for not turning back the boats relative to the wider AES, but the university sample is still far more positive.

Table 7.4 Responses to whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, per cent, Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

	University sample		AES 2013, 18–25 year old students	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Strongly agree	3	1.9	19	14.3
Agree	12	7.4	15	11.3
Neither agree nor disagree	20	12.3	17	12.8
Disagree	37	22.8	31	23.3
Strongly disagree	90	55.6	51	38.3
Total	162	100.0	133	100.0

Data source: Immigration and Political Affiliation Study; AES 2013, not weighted.

While the attitudes towards asylum seekers expressed by the university student sample are highly favourable, it is still possible to determine if there is a relationship between levels of knowledge and attitudes by examining their responses to the quiz in relation to their views concerning whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back.

This section is set out as follows: firstly, I introduce the quiz questions and answers; secondly, I provide a summary of the responses and comment on the misperceptions among the student sample and how their responses relate to attitudes

towards turning back the boats. I find that there is a statistically significant difference between levels of knowledge for students that would prefer to see boats turned back, compared to those students who would not turn back the boats.

7.5.1 Findings

The questions were intended to gauge knowledge of asylum issues and related to various aspects of the asylum seeker debate, taking into consideration common issues that were discussed by political elites during the period 2001–2013 concerning asylum seekers – a period where misinformation (especially the use of incorrect labels to describe asylum seekers) and information minimisation were common. Therefore, the quiz included questions that probed knowledge about asylum issues drawing on the common social categorisations of asylum seekers, and knowledge about asylum more generally. Questions on general asylum issues were developed about issues that were of sufficient community concern that the Department of Immigration had published fact sheets about them. For example, a question was asked concerning whether it is legal to seek asylum and enter Australia. The simple answer to this question under international law is that it is legal to seek asylum. However, in the context of political rhetoric surrounding asylum seekers, it might seem that it is not legal to seek asylum. Asylum seekers were referred to by the Australian Government as ‘illegals’ – see the discussion on the legality of seeking asylum and terminology used by political elites to refer to asylum seekers in Chapter 4 – even though arriving in Australia by boat and requesting asylum, they do not break any Australian laws. All the questions in the quiz, with one exception, required ‘true’ or ‘false’ responses — though respondents could also choose not to answer the

question if they did not know an answer, or preferred not to answer. The questions and their correct answers are shown in Table 7.5.

The questions were introduced with the pre-question *"Here are a few general statements about asylum seekers. Select the answer you think is right without researching the answers."* Sample sizes for each question are reported in Table 7.5. Notes are included in the text, to identify where moderate correlations were observed between the quiz answers and the 'turn back the boats' question.

Table 7.5 Asylum issues quiz and responses, Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

	Question	Possible answer	Correct answer	Per cent correct	(n)
Pre-question: Here are a few general statements about asylum seekers. Select the answer you think is right without researching the answers					
1.	The terms "refugee" and "asylum seeker" have the same meaning	True or false	False	74.7	158
2.	Refugees in Australia receive more welfare benefits than other people	True or false	False	89.8	157
3.	Few refugees in Australia apply for and live in public housing	True or false	False	46.5	157
4.	Most refugees in Australia experience long-term unemployment before finding work	True or false	True	24.1	158
5.	People who arrive in Australia by boat to seek asylum do so illegally	True or false	False	73.9	157
6.	More asylum seekers arrive by plane than by boat	True or false	True	75.0	156
7.	Boat arrivals are not genuine refugees	True or false	False	93.6	156

Con't next page

	Question	Possible answer	Correct answer	Per cent correct	(n)
8.	Asylum seekers are queue jumpers – that is, they have bypassed the normal humanitarian channels of coming to Australia	True or false	False	66.0	156
9.	The number of asylum seekers who arrive in Australia by boat each year is closest to...	4000 8000 16,000 or 32,000	8000 and 16,000[1]	50.0 31.8 13.6 4.5	154
10.	Australia receives more asylum seekers per capita than other developed countries	True or false	False	85.4	157

The first question probed respondents' knowledge concerning two main terms that are used to refer to asylum seekers and the question read: *"The terms "refugee" and "asylum seeker" have the same meaning."* This question was included to determine whether respondents are aware there is a difference between the two terms. More than 25 per cent responded that there is no difference between the terms. The large percentage of students who are unaware of the difference between the terms may be an artefact of the common misuse of the terms in the media and political discussion.

The second question tested whether respondents believe refugees receive more welfare than other people in Australia. The statement read: *"Refugees in Australia receive more welfare benefits than other people."* The overwhelming majority stated that this is not the case, while just over 10 per cent reported that they do receive more. The issue was the subject of a Department of Immigration fact sheet which clarified that refugees do not receive more welfare than other welfare recipients (DIAC, 2013). This issue has also been investigated, and found to be false, by the ABC News agency in response to claims that asylum seekers receive more

[1] Both '8000' and '16000' were accepted as correct responses. See discussion below on p. 193.

benefits than pensioners (ABC News, 2013). Favourable views towards asylum seekers were associated with correct responses: $\chi^2(4, N = 157) = 30.24, p < .001$.

Question three sought perceptions on the number of refugees in public housing, stating: *"Few refugees in Australia apply for and live in public housing."* Though this is not an issue examined in O'Doherty and Lecouteur's (2007) discussion of social categorisations of asylum seekers, the question was included as an extension of the welfare question and in response to media commentary emphasising the placement of refugees in public housing (Jones, 2012). Respondents were divided almost perfectly in half on whether refugees live in public housing. It is true that many refugees were settled in the community and housed in furnished public housing; the level and quality of housing, however, is the same as that afforded to other recipients of public welfare. The issue has drawn media attention, especially on right-wing radio talk shows in connection to broader discussions of refugee welfare, and an avenue for future research would be to gauge how the wider public view the issue (see ABC News; Sear, 2011).

Question four also related generally to welfare and concerned having refugees in the community who do not work. The question stated: *"Most refugees in Australia experience long-term unemployment before finding work."* More than three-quarters of respondents claimed the statement was true. A Department of Immigration review notes that many refugees struggle to find work (see Benson, 2011; DIMIA, 2003).

The fifth question asked respondents whether it is true or false that *"People who arrive in Australia by boat to seek asylum do so illegally."* Under the Refuge Convention, asylum seekers have the right to enter a state for the purposes of seeking asylum irrespective of how they arrive or whether they have valid documents.

Further, Australian law permits unauthorised entry for the purposes of seeking refugee status and classifies such people as "unlawful non-citizens" (see generally Phillips, 2011). This classification does not mean a criminal offence has been committed. The Department of Immigration officially refers to asylum seekers arriving in Australian waters as "illegals," yet officially makes no case that asylum seekers have done anything illegal (Phillips, 2011). Phillips (2011) writes: "The term 'illegal' may more appropriately apply to those without a valid visa […] who are not seeking protection, such as visa overstayers" (Phillips, 2011, no pagination). Thus, the correct answer to this question is 'false.' In reply to the quiz statement, 73.9 per cent of respondents said that statement is false, while 26.1 per cent said it is true. There is a strong correlation between answering that asylum seekers are not illegally entering Australia and holding favourable views towards asylum seekers: $\chi^2(4, N = 157) = 34.27, p < .001$.

In the context of political rhetoric concerning asylum issues, it is not surprising that the perception exists that seeking asylum is illegal. For example, the Liberal Party Immigration Minister who introduced the term "illegals" to describe asylum seekers, Scott Morrison, has stated: "I've never claimed that it's illegal to claim asylum. That's not what the term refers to […] It refers to their mode of entry and so I'm going to call a spade a spade" (qtd. in Griffiths, 2013). Yet, the Refugee Convention and Australian law do not identify the means of arrival in seeking asylum as a legal issue.

More broadly this quiz question taps into the common categorisations, especially presented by government, that asylum seekers perform a criminal act in coming to Australia — which is what is implied by labelling asylum seekers "illegals" (see generally Zetter, 1991; Zetter, 2007). Labor spokesman, Richard

Marles, commented on the term "illegals": "This is language being used for a political purpose here in Australia […] It clouds the debate and it acts to work against trying to achieve bipartisanship in the area of immigration policy" (qtd. in Griffiths, 2013). A representative of the Anglican Church echoed these comments claiming "It is misrepresenting the state of people who are fleeing for their lives, and to call them illegal and to perpetuate that and other dehumanising kind of labels, just doesn't acknowledge their situation" (qtd. in Griffiths, 2013).

On a matter related to the way asylum seekers reach Australia, respondents were asked whether the sixth statement *"More asylum seekers arrive by plane than by boat"* is true or false. Seventy-five per cent said the statement is true. As stated earlier, many more of asylum seekers arrive in Australia by plane (Karlsen & Phillips, 2010; Phillips, 2011; Phillips & Spinks, 2010) and the answer to this question reflects that three-quarters of respondents have an accurate perception of how most asylum seekers arrive. Again, for comparative purposes, this would be an interesting question to put to a broader sample of Australians to see if perceptions in the wider community differ to this university student sample. Among this university sample, correct responses were positively correlated with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers: $\chi^2(4, N = 156) = 27.70, p < .001$.

Perceptions of the genuineness of asylum seekers were measured by responses to the seventh statement: *"Boat arrivals are not genuine refugees."* The preponderance of evidence suggests the vast majority of boat arrivals are genuine refugees and are given refugee status after their claims are processed – as discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 88). Much like the question that was asked in the AES in 2001 and 2004, this question also serves to gauge opinion about whether boat arrivals have genuine grounds on which to claim asylum. This question was kept simple in order

to facilitate a comparison with the question that was asked in the AES in 2001 and 2004 concerning the genuineness of asylum seekers. In those AES, respondents were asked the extent to which they agree, on a five-point scale, with the statement: "Most of those people seeking asylum in Australia are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland" (see discussion earlier in this chapter). In the AES sample in 2004 (the most recent time this question was asked) 41.3 per cent of respondents agreed that asylum seekers are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homelands. In this university student sample, it is notable that only 6.4 per cent of respondents answered that the statement was true, meaning the vast majority believe that boat arrivals do have genuine grounds on which to claim asylum. There was a moderately strong correlation between answering that asylum seekers are genuine and having favourable views towards asylum seekers: $\chi^2(4, N = 156) = 33.26, p < .001$.

The following statement tested whether asylum seekers are seen to be queue jumpers and have somehow bypassed 'normal' channels of migration. The eighth statement read: *"Asylum seekers are queue jumpers – that is, they have bypassed the normal humanitarian channels of coming to Australia."* In response to this statement, some 34.0 per cent answered that asylum seekers have bypassed normal channels. This result is somewhat similar to the result for statement five concerning whether asylum seekers arrive in Australia illegally. These figures suggest that while there is a dominant perception that asylum seekers are genuine, a large proportion of those who hold that view also view asylum seekers as having bypassed 'normal' migration procedures. This topic generated the strongest correlation between a quiz response and attitudes towards whether asylum seeker boats should be turned back: $\chi^2(4, N = 156) = 52.08, p < .001$. This suggests that the common categorisation that

asylum seekers arriving by boat have somehow bypassed regular migration channels is prevalent in the thinking of this university sample.

The following statement sought to measure perceptions of the number of asylum seekers arriving each year by boat. Previous research has shown that locally-born people tend to overestimate the number of immigrants arriving each year (Citrin & Sides, 2008; Lahav, 2004; McLaren & Johnson, 2007; McLaren, 2001). Statement nine asked respondents: *"The number of asylum seekers who arrive in Australia by boat each year is closest to: 4000, 8000, 16,000, or 32,000"*. This question was included in order to gauge university educated respondents perceptions of how many asylum seekers arrive in Australia each year by boat. The number of asylum seekers arriving by boat in 2013, the year before the survey was conducted, was 13,108. The average figure for the previous five years (2009-2013) was lower at 8831 (see Figure 4.1, p. 98). Any response within the range of 8000 to 16,000 was considered correct, while the lower figure of 4000 and the higher figure of 32,000 were considered incorrect. Fifty per cent of respondents answered that the average number of asylum seekers arriving each year is 4000. The smallest percentage, 4.5 per cent, estimated 32,000 arrive each year, while 31.8 and 13.6 per cent estimated that 8000 and 16,000 arrive each year respectively. In the context of research into misperceptions surrounding immigrants where overestimating arrivals is common, this university student sample underestimated the number of arrivals. Nonetheless, there was a correlation between unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers and estimating the numbers of arrivals, as can be seen in Table 7.6. This correlation reveals that those who estimated between 16,000 and 32,000 arrivals, in the past year, had less favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers than those who estimated lower numbers of arrivals. While it was noted above that both 8000 and 16,000 were

accepted as 'correct' answers to the question, the full contingency table of responses is included below to demonstrate the relationship between responses and attitudes towards asylum seekers: $\chi^2(12, N = 154) = 27.05, p = .008$.

Table 7.6 Bivariate analysis of attitudes towards turning back the boats and believed number of asylum seeker arrivals, Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

	Turn back the boats									
	Strongly agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)
4000	1.3	1	2.6	2	5.2	4	19.5	15	71.4	55
8000	0.0	0	14.3	7	16.3	8	18.4	9	51.0	25
16000	4.8	1	9.5	2	19.0	4	28.6	6	38.1	8
32000	14.3	1	14.3	1	14.3	1	42.9	3	14.3	1
Total n		3		12		17		33		89

The final, and tenth, statement read: *"Australia receives more asylum seekers per capita than other developed countries."* Almost 15 per cent believed this statement to be true, while the remainder believed it was false. The UNHCR notes that this is not true (see UNHCR, 2010; UNHCR, 2012b).

However, it is a common part of the political rhetoric in the asylum seeker debate to describe Australia as a generous nation that is taken advantage of by asylum seekers (see Every & Augoustinos, 2008a, pp. 570, 572; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008). There was a correlation between favourable views and not believing this statement to be true: $\chi^2(4, N = 157) = 37.81, p < .001$.

A cumulative total of correct answers was calculated for each survey respondent and the average score for the ten questions was M = 7.2, n=158. As a means of examining whether high levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues correlate with more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers (H5), one final statistical test was performed on the data. An independent samples t-test was used to compare the mean quiz result between respondents who agreed that boats should be turned back, and those who disagreed that the boats should be turned back. In order

to perform this test, responses to the question concerning whether boats should be turned back (shown in Table 7.4) were recoded into a binary variable, neutral responses were recoded as missing. The analysis showed that the mean result for the two groups, one agreeing that boats should be turned back and the other disagreeing that boats should be turned back, were significantly different. The group that answered boats should be turned back averaged 4.9 correct answers, and the group that answered boats should not be turned back averaged 7.6 correct answers, $t(137) = -7.3$, $p < 0.001$. These results confirm that higher levels of knowledge concerning asylum issues are associated with favourable attitudes, in spite of the fact that many students had misperceptions concerning asylum issues.

7.5.2 Summary

The questions revealed that in a university student sample there are several misperceptions concerning asylum seekers, in spite of the fact that attitudes were generally favourable among the group. While most respondents perceived asylum seekers have genuine grounds to claim asylum in Australia, close to one-third held the view that asylum seekers are queue jumpers and enter Australia illegally — perceptions which are aligned with the common social categorisation of asylum seekers as law breakers and bypassing the 'normal' and fair methods of migrating to Australia.

This university student sample was aware that more asylum seekers arrive by plane than by boat, yet many were unaware of a difference between the terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee', which points to the common conflation of these terms that were evident in the media and among political elites up to the time of the survey. On the questions concerning welfare and employment, most of the students believed

that asylum seekers do not receive more welfare than other members of the community, and accurately reported that asylum seekers struggle to find work. Curiously, however, half of the university student respondents underestimated the number of asylum seekers who arrive in Australia each year; 50 per cent of respondents answered that 4000 asylum seekers arrive each year, which is well below the actual number of people who arrived in the year prior to the study, and the five-year average. In the context of research that has shown that negative perceptions of immigrants correlate with overestimating migrant arrivals (Lahav, 2004; McLaren, 2001) this finding suggests that more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers correlate with underestimation of asylum seeker arrivals.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I investigated the relationships between background factors — gender, age, place of birth and residence — socioeconomic measures, and political identification with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This analysis produced results that complement existing knowledge about attitudes towards immigrants both in Australia and abroad, and provide new insights into attitudes towards asylum seekers. Additionally, I considered knowledge about asylum issues among university students and how that knowledge relates to attitudes towards asylum seekers.

Drawing on data from the combined AES dataset, 2001–2013, the results of bivariate analysis, which considered party identification and attitudes towards asylum seekers, revealed strong differences between those who identify with Labor, and those who identify with the Liberals; consistently from 2001 to 2013, larger percentages of those who identified with the Liberal Party held unfavourable views towards asylum seekers compared to those who identified with Labor. This is a

notable finding in the context of the shifts in Labor policy concerning asylum seekers, discussed in Chapter 4, across the period and especially immediately before the 2013 election, when the Labor Party changed their policy concerning asylum seekers. At that point, Labor reversed their earlier policy (while in government) of not turning back boats carrying asylum seekers, and essentially adopted Liberal, Howard era, policies of turning back boats and reintroducing offshore detention. Surprisingly, these tough policies against asylum seekers do not appear to reflect the position of many of those AES respondents who identify with the party: of those respondents who identified with Labor in the 2013 AES, only 39.1 per cent agreed that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back. In revealing the substantial differences between Labor and those who identify with the Liberals and Nationals, the bivariate analysis also served to demonstrate that Liberal and Labor supporters are further apart in their attitudes towards asylum seekers than they are about the effects of immigration on society. Whereas in the previous chapter, little difference was observed in terms of attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society between those respondents who identified with Labor or the Liberals.

Turning to the multivariate analysis, the results showed that low interest in politics in Australia, voting only because it is compulsory, and not caring about the outcome of elections, all had negative relationships with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Higher knowledge about the Australian political system, however, was shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Strongly identifying with the political right was also shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. While this finding contributes to our understanding of political affiliation, and confirms a right-left dichotomy between the Liberals and Nationals on the right, and the Labor reference category on

the left, other political identifications did not produce statistically significant results. In the analysis of attitudes towards the effects of immigration, however, strongly identifying with the left-wing Greens party was shown to have positive and statistically significant relation with attitudes.

Education was shown to have a relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers also, with university education and diploma qualifications being strongly and positively related to attitudes towards asylum seekers. Other forms of post-school qualifications were not shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes, which (like in the analysis presented in the previous chapter) complicates a simple application of human capital theory to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers. This finding complicates the application of human capital theory in Australia and indicates that 'more education' does not simply result in 'more favourable attitudes'.

Occupational category was not shown to have a significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. Similarly, low income was not shown to be significantly related to attitudes towards asylum seekers. Taken together, these findings suggest asylum seekers are not viewed through a lens of economic competition. However, a significant negative relationship was observed between not reporting income and attitudes towards asylum seekers. This finding may indicate that respondents who did not report income share some other quality beyond a reluctance to answer the income question. It could be the case that these respondents have concerns about privacy and, by extension, security, which is a concern that I demonstrated is related to attitudes towards asylum seekers in the factor analysis (see Chapter 3, p. 75). More research is required, however, to confirm this suggestion. An interaction term between gender and age was also shown to have a significant

relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, suggesting that older males have less favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers.

A notable difference in the analysis between attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers was the role played by place of birth. In the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants in Chapter 6, being born abroad was shown to have a positive effect on attitudes towards immigrants, but as the analysis above reveals, birthplace had no relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers.

In addition to analysis performed on the AES, I presented the results of a quiz administered to university students concerning knowledge about asylum issues. This analysis revealed that the students have several misperceptions about asylum seekers, in spite of having attitudes that are generally favourable — the university student sample had far more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers based on the turn back the boats question than AES respondents considered earlier in the chapter. It seems reasonable to assume that if individuals who opt into a study on immigration have misperceptions about asylum seekers, the wider public would at least have similar misperceptions, if not a lesser degree of knowledge. While most respondents believed asylum seekers have genuine grounds to claim asylum in Australia, close to one-third held the view that asylum seekers are queue jumpers and enter Australia illegally — perceptions that are aligned with the common social categorisation of asylum seekers as law breakers who are bypassing the ‘normal’ and ‘fair’ methods of migrating to Australia. This finding emphasises that ‘genuine’ is perceived as distinct from ‘entitled’ to enter Australia.

The surveyed students were aware that more asylum seekers arrive by plane than by boat, yet many were unaware of a difference between the terms ‘asylum seeker’ and ‘refugee’, which points to the common conflation of these terms. Half of

the respondents underestimated the number of asylum seekers who arrived in Australia each year; half of the university student respondents answered that 4000 asylum seekers arrive each year, which is well below the actual number of arrivals for the year before the study and the five-year average. A moderate correlation between underestimation and favourable attitudes was found, which is a particularly notable finding in the context of research that has shown that negative perceptions of other kinds of immigrants correlate with overestimating migrant arrivals (Lahav, 2004; McLaren, 2001), and that false beliefs are associated with negative attitudes towards asylum seekers (Pedersen et al., 2005). Among those who disagreed that boats should be turned back, knowledge of asylum issues was higher than among those who agreed that asylum boats should be turned back.

A final point to note about the findings concerning both the AES and the quiz of university students is that they represent several moments in time, and it is possible that positions, and knowledge for that matter, may have changed. Unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers may continue to decline, depending on how the asylum issue is approached and presented by political elites, and whether global events precipitate another period of arrivals. The positions of political elites on asylum issues, and how they approach and communicate these issues will continue to be important in the longer-term, and it is also possible that the way humanitarian issues are discussed will impact on social cohesion and the inclusion of migrants into society more generally.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

8.1 Discussion

With the movement of asylum seekers becoming a critical global issue, and with social tensions around the movement of asylum seekers from the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia into Europe and other regions increasing (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012; Geddes & Scholten, 2016), knowledge of how attitudes towards those who seek asylum are shaped can help inform policy makers' decisions and contribute to debates on security, and stable and cohesive societies (Paas & Halapuu, 2012). For many years Australia was seen as a model multicultural society, based on its policies towards both regular and irregular immigrants, but most recently it has become an example of how to deter people from using uncontrolled means to seek asylum (Jakubowicz, 2016). This shift occurred while the Government continued a large scale regular migration program, which includes humanitarian placements. Thus, an understanding of the Australian situation, the country's policy positions, and public attitudes to both regular and irregular immigrants can contribute to developing long-term strategies concerning immigration and integration policies both in Australia and in other regions that have dealt with large migrant populations.

While Australia is seen, especially in Europe, as an example of how to deal with challenges to border protection and social cohesion in the context of increased human mobility, there are still many lessons to be learnt domestically. One of them is how to reconcile political parties' policies with the opinions of their supporters: as was seen in the previous chapters, the major parties take very similar approaches

towards asylum seekers, irrespective of the fact that there are substantial differences between the aggregate views of their supporters on the issue (see Chapter 7, p. 172).

The aim of this thesis was to respond to the growing interest in public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies, and their relevance in creating cohesive societies. In order to achieve this aim, I focused on attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration on society, support for immigrants, and whether boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back. With this overarching aim in mind, and after having established the socio-historical context for this research, I set about achieving three research objectives. These objectives were to:

- conduct cross-sectional analysis concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers and regular immigrants
- determine the applicability of theories dealing with attitude formation, which were developed in other countries, to the Australian situation
- explore the relationship between socio-demographic and other factors, including political identification, with attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers.

In order to achieve these objectives, I formulated five research questions to be investigated in the course of this research. The results of this research contribute to enhancing knowledge surrounding attitudes towards regular immigrants and asylum seekers in Australia, and expanding the under-explored area of research concerning how attitudes towards immigration and asylum seekers are related to political party identification (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Hawley, 2011).

The research presented in this thesis was conducted at a time when a significant change was made by the Australian Government in terms of how much

information was made publicly available about asylum seekers. The decision was made by the Liberal Government in 2013 to substantially *reduce* the information flow on asylum seeker boat arrivals or, as some critics emphasise, to *suppress* the kind of information that was previously available on this issue (Muller, 2013; Wadham, 2014). The ostensible justification for this change was to limit the information available to asylum seekers contemplating travelling to Australia, which was anticipated to have the effect of deterring them from attempting the journey. Along with changes to the amount of information that was made available by the government, offshore processing was reintroduced, and a commitment made that no asylum seeker, who attempted to reach Australia by boat, would be resettled in Australia. Nonetheless, up to the 2013 election, the issue of asylum seekers was prominent in public debate and political manoeuvring around the issue was prevalent.

A number of research questions and hypotheses were developed and investigated in the course of this research and the findings will now be presented and discussed in the context of these research questions. The first research question was:

> *Q1. To what extent do political affiliation, human capital and economic competition theories apply to the formation of attitudes towards regular immigrants in Australia?*

The second and third research questions related to attitudes towards asylum seekers and the applicability of theory that has mostly been used to study attitudes towards other kinds of immigrants:

> *Q2. To what extent, if at all, is it conceptually justifiable to apply theories dealing with attitude formation towards regular immigrants to the study of attitudes towards irregular immigrants, through an exploration of attitudes towards asylum seekers arriving by boat in the case of Australia?*

Q3. Do concerns about economic competition apply to both categories of regular and irregular immigration in Australia?

As part of the research process, I examined several iterations of the AES to find questions that could be used to shed light on the theoretical concepts of human capital, economic competition and political affiliation in the context of attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers. Additionally, several questions from the AES were discussed that measured attitudes towards different aspects of immigration. These measures were grouped such that it was possible to examine attitudes related to support for immigrants (equal opportunities), government immigration policy (number of immigrants allowed into Australia), and the perceived effects of immigration (crime, jobs, openness and economy).

Political affiliation

The investigation of political affiliation began with a bivariate examination of the relationship between party identification and attitudes towards the perceived effects of immigration. The perceived effects of immigration was taken as an example to examine differences in attitudes between different party supporters, but also to point to the deficiencies of this kind of analysis (which does not control for other factors). Nonetheless, the analysis revealed weak to moderate correlations between party identification and unfavourable views of the effects of immigration. Nationals supporters were shown to have unfavourable views of the perceived effects of immigration, as expected under political affiliation theory. However, the differences between Liberal and Labor supporters were only slight. Depending on the year, either more Liberal supporters or more Labor supporters held unfavourable views. For example, in 2001 and 2007 a larger percentage of Labor supporters expressed unfavourable views towards the effects of immigration.

While these findings are important as they reveal differences over time, I also wanted to test whether strongly identifying with a right-leaning party would relate significantly with unfavourable attitudes towards support for immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration. Thus, additional multivariate analysis was conducted to look for an interaction effect between party identification and strength of identification. The results revealed that strongly identifying with a right-leaning political party had significant and strong relationships with unfavourable attitudes towards government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration. Notably, strongly identifying with the left-wing Greens party was shown to have a relationship with more favourable attitudes towards the effects of immigration, though not with government immigration policy concerning the number of immigrants allowed into Australia. In terms of the Greens' position on immigration, these findings broadly suggest that Greens' supporters understand the party's desire to enhance social cohesion, but also limit population growth. A lesser role of strength of identification was observed in relation to attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants, but strongly identifying with the Liberal party was again shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes.

Australia serves as a particularly useful case study to examine political affiliation theory because voting is compulsory, which means that people are compelled to vote irrespective of their level of interest in or knowledge of politics. Thus, additional measures concerning interest in and knowledge about Australian politics were also included in the multivariate analysis. Notably, across the three models for attitudes towards government immigration policy, the effects of immigration, and support for immigrants, the multivariate analysis showed that low levels of interest in politics, and 'voting only because it is compulsory' held negative

relationships with attitudes. On the subject of political interest, Barceló (2016) argued that interest was related to negative perceptions of immigration policy in Asia, but not attitudes towards immigrants themselves (Barceló, 2016, p. 103). My finding suggests a more uniform negative function of political interest in relation to attitudes towards immigrants, the effects of immigration on society and government immigration policy. Barceló (2016) speculated that individuals with "low political interest also lack political information and, therefore, the tools to assess the actual impact of immigration on society" (Barceló, 2016, p. 89). My study considered an objective level of political knowledge, which indicated that knowledge has a positive relationship with attitudes towards regular immigrants. I also considered the relationship between political knowledge in attitudes towards asylum seekers, drawing on AES data, and found a similar positive relationship. Additionally, I considered specific knowledge about asylum seekers in Australia, which was shown to be associated with more favourable views towards that group, and I will discuss this under the heading 'Asylum seekers' below (p. 209).

Human capital

In reference to human capital theory, this study considered respondents with a range of post-school qualifications. It confirmed that university education held a strong positive relationship with all of the dependent variables (i.e. support for immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration), relative to the reference category which was no post-school qualification. Interestingly, trade and non-trade qualifications were shown to have negative relationships with these dependent variables. This is a notable finding for human capital theory because it shows that there is not a straightforward relationship between 'more education' and 'more favourable attitudes' in relation to immigrants in the Australian context.

Other studies have found prominent relationships between tolerance of immigrants among educated people. For example, analysis of data from the British Social Attitudes survey, examining "how (higher) education affects a wider set of attitudinal outcomes" found that university graduates display, relative to the wider community, "the most tolerant attitudes towards immigrants and benefit recipients" (Brennan et al., 2015, p. 79), are "more welcoming and appreciative of immigration and immigrants" (Brennan et al., 2015, p. 57), and "were the least likely to feel immigration had a negative effect on Britain's economy or cultural life and the least likely to support a reduction in immigrant numbers" (Brennan et al., 2015, p. 57). However, there is also research to suggest that while there is generally a positive relationship between higher education and tolerance, education as such does not necessarily contribute to increased tolerance, and that there could be other factors within a society that affect attitudes more than education (e.g. increased economic insecurity, or fear of losing one's social status, or nationalism) (Janmaat, 2016; Twenge et al., 2015). As noted earlier, it could also be the case that individuals with higher education communicate what they expect are socially desirable responses and present themselves as more tolerant (Knudsen, 1995).

Higher education, apart from offering individuals potential benefits like improved employment opportunities and higher salaries, is also believed by some to contribute to a greater public good (Hagendoorn & Nekuee, 1999), and that boosting levels of social capital potentially creates engaged citizens who are more tolerant members of society (Vogt, 1983, 1986). It has been argued that this tolerance develops through exposure to liberal values, engaging with different points of view, and a wider group of people (Evans, 2002; Feinstein, 2002). However, the differences that are observed between more educated people and others may also

simply be connected to pre-existing differences between those who choose to enrol in higher education and those who do not (Brennan et al., 2015, p. 10).

The practical implications of these findings for policy makers and educators are substantial. As the study indicated that individuals with university and diploma-level qualifications express more favourable attitudes towards immigrants, government immigration policy, and the effects of immigration on society, attitudes towards immigrants could be improved by developing programs and policies that focus on increasing tolerance among those engaged in trade and non-trade qualifications. Such programs and policy interventions that seek to foster the exposure of students and apprentices engaged in trade and non-trade qualifications to the kinds of educational-elements identified by Evans (2002) and Feinstein (2002) as important in enhancing tolerance (liberal values, different points of view, and a wider group of people) could significantly contribute to integrating immigrants into society and enhancing social cohesion. Still, more study is needed in this area, especially to test what particular aspects of education contribute to increased tolerance. While the financial costs of conducting such research might seem vast, initial studies could be focused on the attitudes of students studying in areas that already have a high level of exposure to diverse communities compared to those that do not.

Economic competition

Turning to economic competition, the findings on occupational category are notable in the context of the research of Scheve and Slaughter (2001), who argued that immigration attitudes are at least partly established in material self-interest and hypothesised that the locally-born population anticipate the economic effect of immigration. In the models, occupational category was shown to have a relationship

with attitudes towards the effects of immigration on society and towards the number of immigrants allowed into Australia: relative to the professional reference category, identifying as a labourer was shown to have a negative relationship with such attitudes. In terms of support for immigrants, measured through perceptions of equal opportunities, identifying as a labourer was also shown to have a negative relationship with these attitudes, while identifying as a sales or clerical worker did not yield a statistically significant result. If occupational category is taken as a coarse measure of skill, these findings offer tentative support for the idea that low-skilled workers may anticipate negative economic consequences of immigration, even though economists have shown that wage effects of immigration are marginal or even non-existent (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014, p. 227).

To confirm the applicability of economic competition theory to the Australian situation, income was also investigated. Income, however, was not shown to have a consistent relationship with attitudes towards support for immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration. For economic competition theory to be confirmed, we should expect that individuals who reported having low income might anticipate negative effects of immigration on society (more competition, reduction in the number of available low-skill jobs, and lower wages) and, consequently, express less favourable attitudes. Likewise, we should expect that low income would have a relationship with attitudes towards the number of immigrants coming to Australia, but this was not the case. Income was only identified as important in additional analysis that specifically looked at the issue of whether immigrants take away jobs from locally-born people. When respondents were prompted to directly think about immigration in the context of jobs being taken away from locally-born workers, a relationship between low income and attitudes

was observed. But in the models that addressed government immigration policy concerning the number of immigrants allowed into the country, support for immigrants, and the perceived effect of immigration on society, low income was not shown to have a significant relationship with attitudes. In summary, income was only shown to have relevance when respondents were prompted to think about whether immigrants take jobs, but when considered in terms of the overall effects of immigration on society, income was not revealed to have a significant relationship with attitudes.

The results of the analysis indicate that human capital and political affiliation have applicability to the Australian example, but there are caveats to their application. The left-right divisions suggested by political affiliation theory are applicable in a broad sense, but the study expanded the application of political affiliation to show that the strength of partisanship had an important function in relationship to attitudes. Human capital theory could also be described as broadly applicable, but this study showed that there is not a straightforward relationship between attitudes and post-school education. By contrast, only very limited support for the applicability of economic competition theory to the Australian situation was found – meaning these findings are among those that challenge economic competition as a core element in determining attitudes (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007, 2010).

In terms of the controls that were included in the regression models described above, age and gender where shown to have little relevance overall. However, being born abroad and living in a rural area were both shown to hold statistically significant relationships with attitudes. Being born abroad had a strong positive relationship with the dependent variables for attitudes towards support for

immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration – a finding which supports the research of Hayes and Dowds (2006) who suggest that individuals from culturally marginalised groups are more likely to hold favourable attitudes towards immigrants. This is especially important in the context of the findings concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers discussed below. Living in a rural area was shown to have a negative relationship with the dependent variables for regular immigration (see also Fennelly & Federico, 2008). The findings on place of residence and place of birth are especially important in terms of how the government approaches the settlement of new migrants.

Many migrants congregate in Australia's major cities (Edwards, 2014), yet could choose to live and work in rural areas. Noting the negative relationships between residing in a rural area and attitudes towards support for immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration, government may seek to introduce policies that attempt to improve attitudes towards immigration in rural areas. Along these lines, the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia has argued that the Australian Government should take action to develop policies that see "adequate support infrastructure [built in regional areas…] to encourage settlement of migrant and refugee communities in rural and regional Australia" (FECCA, 2015, p. 4), but additional work would also be required to build social cohesion.

Asylum seekers

It might seem reasonable to apply theories dealing with attitudes towards regular immigrants to the study of attitudes towards irregular immigrants, if both groups are perceived simply as new arrivals. However, this does not appear to be the case: factor analysis did not identify responses to the question concerning whether asylum

seeker boats should be turned back as belonging to the same latent variable as several questions concerning attitudes towards immigration. Perceptions concerning whether asylum seeker boats should be turned back appeared to be more closely related to concerns about punitiveness and social justice. Nonetheless, initial contingency analysis showed that being university educated was correlated with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, which tends to indicate that human capital theory is applicable to the study of attitudes towards asylum seekers. Moreover, previous research has shown a left-right ideological division in relationship to attitudes towards asylum seekers (Pedersen et al., 2005). Therefore, I applied the same regression model to attitudes towards asylum seekers as to immigrants to determine the applicability of political affiliation and human capital theories. As education is a socioeconomic measure, applying the same regression model also allowed an examination of economic competition theory.

In the regression analysis, being university educated was shown to have a significant positive relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This finding may, however, suggest more about the kinds of people who opt into university and long-duration post-school education programs (like diploma courses), than it does about the function of education in shaping perspectives; people who decide to pursue higher education may be more open, willing to learn and engage with different points of view, than those who do not (Mayda, 2006). Interestingly, other post-school qualifications (trade and non-trade qualifications) were not shown to have statistically significant relationships with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This is notable in the context of the regression models concerning attitudes towards immigration described above, where other post-school qualifications were shown to have negative relationships with attitudes. Even taking this difference into

consideration, it is still conceptually justifiable to apply human capital to the study of asylum seekers based on the strength of the finding concerning university education.

Human capital theory proposes that "natives with less education will be more likely to have anti-immigrant attitudes" (Rustenbach, 2010, p. 56). Based on the findings presented here the theory is partly confirmed: in the case of asylum seekers, university education and diploma-level qualifications were shown to have strong positive relationships with attitudes, while other post-school qualifications had no significant bearing on attitudes. For human capital theory to be unreservedly confirmed, any form of post-school qualification should have a positive relationship with attitudes. Yet the results presented in this thesis demonstrate that there is not a simple relationship between attaining more education and more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers. Meanwhile, when it comes to attitudes towards the three measures of attitudes towards immigration (policy, effects, and support for immigrants), trade and non-trade qualifications had negative relationships with attitudes. This complicates human capital theory to the extent that individuals who attain certain kinds of post-school education, diplomas and university degrees, express more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, but those who attain trade and non-trade qualifications (certificates etc.) demonstrate no variance relative to those who do not attain post-school qualifications.

The evidence concerning economic competition theory is even clearer. Here, I was looking for relationships between three socioeconomic measures (education, occupational category, and income) and attitudes towards asylum seekers. Education was shown to have a relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, but occupational categories did not: no significant relationships were observed between any of the occupational categories and attitudes towards asylum seekers. Notably,

being a labourer was not shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. This finding differed from that presented for attitudes towards immigration policy and the effects of immigration, but may be unsurprising in the context of the Australian trade union movement's support of asylum seekers and opposition to Labor's 2013 plan to divert asylum boats to offshore processing centres (ACTU, 2010; AFR, 2013).

Coming to the remaining aspect of socioeconomic status, the analysis did not show low income to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers relative to the reference category, which was individuals with moderate to high incomes. Not reporting an income was found to have a negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, which is a particularly curious finding. While it is not uncommon for respondents to be reluctant to report their incomes (Davern et al., 2005), there are several possible explanations for this finding. It could be the case that this is just a measurement error, or it could be concealing some other quality among those respondents who did not report their incomes. It might be the case that the individuals are linked by having extremely low earnings and hence a reluctance to report their incomes, but if that were the case, it would be expected that the same category would have been significant in the analysis concerning whether immigrants take jobs (where low income was shown to be significant in the model). It could be the case that in not reporting income, these respondents are also similar in some other unmeasured way – their reluctance to indicate their incomes could hint at wider concerns about privacy, security and external threats, which could include asylum seekers. Based on the available data, it is not possible to make a definitive conclusion in this regard, and it is recommended that future research considers these respondents further. In summary, the analysis of

socioeconomic measures did not indicate that economic concerns feature prominently in attitudes towards asylum seekers.

One unanticipated finding that emerged from the inclusion of control variables in the study was that being born aboard was not shown to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers. In the analysis concerning attitudes towards regular immigrants, being born abroad was found to have a consistently positive relationship with attitudes across several regression models, and it might have been expected that being born abroad would have a similar relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers, but this was not the case. Noting that the regression coefficient for being born abroad was negative, but not statistically significant in the analysis, it is justifiable to argue that asylum seekers are viewed as distinct from other classes of immigrants by immigrants themselves.

The fourth research question asked about the political and social context of debate concerning regular and irregular immigrants in Australia, especially asylum seekers:

> *Q4. What is the political and social context of debate concerning regular and irregular immigrants, especially asylum seekers, in Australia?*

The context of the current political debate on asylum seekers was introduced with a review of Australia's humanitarian policy, shifts in bipartisan support, and changes in the language of the debate. The varied approaches to asylum policy were noted: from the era of bipartisan support for the resettlement of asylum seekers in the 1970s, through to a shift away from bipartisanship in the early 2000s, when events such as the 'children overboard affair' were highly politicised, to 2013 and a return to a kind of bipartisanship in the lead-up to the election when both parties adopted

polices of offshore processing. The language of the asylum debate was also introduced and I explained how language is used to challenge the legitimacy of asylum seekers and, in effect, allow tough measures to be applied. Replacing the phrase 'asylum seeker' with terms that vilify and demonise those arriving by boat, and categorising them in this way in the media, justifies the punitive approach some locally-born people develop towards asylum seekers. Where people have low interest in politics it is likely that these categorisations could be effective at further ostracising this already marginalised group (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). Indeed, low interest in politics was shown to have negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers and, in fact, with all measured aspects of immigration (i.e. attitudes towards support for immigrants, government immigration policy, and the perceived effects of immigration).

The final research question sought to interrogate how knowledge relates to attitudes towards asylum seekers. This was achieved by examining a sample of university students and testing whether there was a relationship between higher levels of knowledge about asylum issues and favourable relationships towards asylum seekers. The research question was:

> *Q5. Does a high level of knowledge concerning asylum issues in Australia correlate with favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers?*

In order to determine the level of knowledge concerning asylum issues among the university student sample, I conducted a quiz. This quiz revealed that student respondents have several misperceptions about asylum seekers, in spite of having attitudes that are generally favourable — a comparison of the respondents who completed the quiz and AES respondents showed that the university students'

attitudes towards asylum seekers were far more favourable. The university students freely opted into the quiz, and yet held many misperceptions about asylum seekers.

The students who were surveyed were aware that more asylum seekers arrive by plane than by boat, yet many were unaware of a difference between the terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee', which points to the common conflation of these terms. Many respondents underestimated the number of asylum seekers who arrive in Australia each year; at the time the survey was conducted the average number of asylum seekers arriving by boat each year was closest to 8000, yet 50 per cent of respondents answered that 4000 asylum seekers arrive each year. A moderate correlation between underestimating the number and favourable attitudes was found, which is a particularly notable finding in the context of research that has shown negative perceptions of immigrants correlate with overestimating migrant arrivals (Lahav, 2004; McLaren, 2001).

Given that government measures to end the public release of information concerning asylum seekers had only recently been introduced at the time the quiz was conducted in 2014, asylum issues were still prominent in the media. However, as no official information concerning arrivals (or attempted arrivals) is now available, a different suite of questions would be needed to investigate what is known about asylum seeking and the government's response to them should similar research be conducted in the future. Nonetheless, the hypothesis that more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers would be associated with higher levels of knowledge surrounding asylum issues was confirmed; individuals who held unfavourable attitudes towards asylum seekers among the university student sample on average displayed lower performance in the quiz compared to those students who expressed positive attitudes towards asylum seekers. This finding also supports the

argument put forward by Pedersen et al. (2005) that more education surrounding asylum issues could improve attitudes towards this marginalised group.

8.2 Significance of research

There are several ways in which this research is significant in providing new insights into, and understanding of, attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in Australia. While there is a body of literature concerning attitudes towards immigrants, this has predominantly been produced concerning migration issues in North America and Europe, few studies have specifically considered attitudes towards humanitarian migrants. Through drawing extensively on quantitative methods and a sample of Australians from several AES surveys, this research adds value to existing studies in the disciplines of migration studies and political science. The study contributes to an underdeveloped field in Australian political science and migration research, and enhances our understanding of views about humanitarian and general migrants in the context of international theory and scholarship dealing with political identification.

The study shows the importance of strongly identifying with the political right in relation to both attitudes towards regular and irregular immigrants (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996), and makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of the importance of political partisanship in relation to those attitudes (Hawley, 2011). Moreover, comparing the regression models that were used to examine attitudes towards asylum seekers and the effects of immigration on society shows that strongly identifying with the political right had an even more prominent negative relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers than attitudes towards immigrants.

Another major contribution of this research is that it expands on earlier research on human capital, political affiliation and economic competition theories. Mostly notably, in terms of the theories it sought to investigate, this research demonstrated that:

- the relationship between 'more education' and positive attitudes towards regular immigrants is not straightforward, and that different kinds of post-school education have different relationships with attitudes
- political identification is tied to strength of identification, and strongly identifying with right-leaning parties has a more prominent relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers than regular immigrants – which indicates that it is conceptually justifiable to apply political affiliation theory to the study of asylum seekers
- some evidence was identified to suggest that material self-interest and economic competition are considered in attitudes towards regular immigrants — identifying as a low-skilled worker had a negative relationship with attitudes towards immigration policy and the effects of immigration — but the evidence largely concurred with recent scholarship challenging economic motivations as a core driver of attitudes
- low income only has a relationship with attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs away from locally-born workers – a result which may indicate that prompting respondents to think about jobs (without other questions to probe the issue) elucidates unfavourable attitudes among low-income respondents
- in terms of attitudes towards asylum seekers, not reporting income was shown to have a negative relationship with attitudes – this could indicate a

reluctance to report income, or could hint at another quality that those respondents share.

These findings make an important contribution to international studies that approach attitudes towards immigrants from a theoretical perspective.

This study also made several important findings concerning demographic background factors. Most notably, place of birth was shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes towards immigrants, yet no relationship with attitudes towards asylum seekers — a finding which suggests that regular immigrants are viewed positively by other immigrants, yet such good will does not extend to asylum seekers. This is a tantalising hint at the role that the difference, between immigrants and locally-born Australians, plays in attitude formation. This finding also points to a clear need for further research into the attitudes of immigrants and their voting choices.

Age and gender were shown to have inconsistent relationships with attitudes, though an interaction was observed between gender and age in relationship to attitudes towards asylum seekers. Living in a rural area was shown to have, conversely, consistent relationships with attitudes across all of the regression models: living in a rural area, relative to the reference category of living in an urban area, was shown to have statistically significant negative relationships with all of the attitudinal variables that were studied.

Finally, this study also demonstrates that there are misperceptions about asylum seekers among university students. If the misperceptions expressed by the university students extend to the wider community — existing research suggests misperceptions are common (Citrin & Sides, 2008; McLaren & Johnson, 2007) — then it is possible that attitude formation is strongly influenced by unrealistic and

even irrational concerns. Nonetheless, the highly favourable views expressed by the students, irrespective of their misperceptions, tend to support Espenshade and Calhoun's (1993) contention that individuals who opt into education demonstrate higher levels of tolerance of different races and cultures.

8.3 Directions for future research

Future research in immigration studies in Australia is critical. One reason why this is the case is that substantial policy changes were introduced following the 2013 federal election by the Liberal–National government that have resulted in all matters concerning asylum seekers being treated with the utmost secrecy. Whereas in previous years the number of actual (and then attempted) arrivals where made available to the public, since 2013 no such information has been made available; details about boat arrivals, interceptions at sea, the transport of asylum seekers to offshore processing centres, and the number of attempted boat arrivals have not been made public. When prompted to provide information by the press or others, politicians deflect questions and point to the imperative to keep 'on water matters'[1] out of the public domain so as not to give an 'advantage to people smugglers.' This policy has resulted in a scarcity of information being available, and the information that is available often comes from asylum seekers themselves, via non-government organisations, many months after the asylum seekers attempted to reach Australia and were intercepted, and placed in detention outside Australia.

Further research is also needed concerning how attitudes towards asylum seekers may have changed in the context of no major party offering a viable

[1] The Government's euphemism for any action resulting in the interception and relocation of asylum seekers to offshore locations.

alternative solution as to how to deal with asylum seekers. The period of this study, 2001–2013, focused on a time during which the major parties initially had different policy approaches towards asylum seekers, but these policies gradually merged to a point that they were virtually indistinguishable. A natural extension of this work would be to examine attitudes towards immigrants using data from the 2016 AES – using 2016 AES data it would be possible to reflect on the return of the far-right One Nation Party and its leader Pauline Hanson to federal parliament, and if this return was accompanied by more hostile attitudes towards immigration.

Additional research is especially needed to determine how views have changed, if the trend towards more favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers has continued, and whether misperceptions concerning asylum seeking exist in the wider community. Of particular interest is whether perceptions of other categories of immigrants have changed owing to the reduced level of focus on asylum seekers since the 2013 federal election, and whether silencing the asylum seeker issue has actually aided social cohesion and the acceptance of other migrants.

Additional work may also be undertaken to extend understanding concerning ideological positioning and attitudes in Australia. While I indicated some basic problems with self-reported political leaning based on AES data (p. 64), it may be possible to use other questions from the AES to construct objective measures of ideological positioning. One method would be to identify questions in the AES related to policy issues and assign responses a value on an ideological spectrum. This would be a complex task, especially if multiple years were considered. Nonetheless, this kind of objective measure of ideological positioning could form the basis of multilevel models that consider interaction between ideological positioning and other factors. Multilevel models, for example, could also be used to account separately for

the variances between AES respondents within election years, broad geographical locations, or even electorates. This approach may shed additional light on contextual influences over time, urban-rural divisions within Australia, and electoral divisions in the context of known migrant population distributions.

Another important direction is to investigate who survey respondents think about when they answer questions like those in the AES. A limitation of this study is that it is not known precisely who respondents to the AES are thinking about when they answer immigration questions. Research conducted by The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford has suggested that survey respondents may not think about the kinds of immigrants that are most common in the community (TMO, 2011), and more work needs to be done in terms of understanding what respondents know about immigration in Australia.

Moving forward, future research will benefit from greater focus on the role of political and other forms of socialisation to further enhance understanding of human capital. This is especially critical in Europe following the high number of asylum seekers who have arrived in recent years. Future research will also benefit from finer measures of attitudes; many of the measures that were included in this study from the AES are somewhat coarse — including the question whether boats should be turned back — and negative responses may in fact be capturing both responses that are harsher than respondents actually feel and those that stem from a humanitarian desire to see fewer people lose their lives at sea.

Our knowledge of how perceptions of regular and irregular immigrants differ, and where similarities exist, would be also enhanced by research that is configured to identify subtle differences in perceptions among different sections of the community. This may be achieved through more detailed questioning on

immigration issues and possibly experimentation that primes respondents with detailed information about different classes of immigrants. This method could be used to shed light on how these groups are perceived and, perhaps more importantly, what is the perceived nature of the threat of asylum seekers and immigrants (labour, social difference, crime, etc.). Whatever kind of research is conducted, attention should be given to ensuring that the questioning is nuanced, and the sample is representative of the national population such that the study has external validity (Sears, 1986) so that inferences can be drawn about the larger population.

Additional research is also needed on how social categorisations of asylum seekers affect perceptions of asylum seekers and immigrants in the wider community; future studies could consider how the terms used in the debate affect responses using experimental research methodologies. The benefit of this approach would be to shed light on cause and effect relationships between government rhetoric and attitudes.

The findings made in this research on the role of political identification in relation to attitudes are substantial and clearly underscore left-right divisions in direct reference to established parties, which complements existing research focusing on the left-right spectrum alone. Nonetheless, more research needs to be done concerning the relationships between attitudes and the supporters of minor parties, and those who do not identify with a political party, as it is they who likely control the balance of power at Australian elections.

Appendix A Variables and scoring

Table 8.1 AES Variables and Scoring

Variable	Response	Value/range
Support for government immigration policy	Continuous additive scale of two measures from the AES as identified in Chapter 3. Taking reserve coding into account, responses to the component measures were added and the resulting figure divided by the total number of components (2) to reduce the numerical range of the scale to 1-5. Higher values indicate more favourable attitudes.	1-5
Attitudes towards government immigration policy	Continuous additive scale of four measures from the AES as identified in Chapter 3. Taking reserve coding into account, responses to the component measures were added and the resulting figure divided by the total number of components (4) to reduce the numerical range of the scale to 1-5. Higher values indicate more favourable attitudes.	1-5
Attitudes towards support for immigrants - equal opportunities for migrants	Categorical	1-5
Attitudes towards asylum seekers	Categorical	1-5
Party Identification	National Liberal Green Other No party Labor	0 1 2 3 4 5
Strength of party identification	Very strong Strength not reported Not very strong	0 1 2
Would have voted if not compulsory	Votes because it is compulsory Would have voted if not compulsory	0 1
Cared who won election	Does not care much or at all which party wins Cares a good deal which party wins	0 1
Interest in politics	None or not much Some or a good deal	0 1
Quiz result	Continuous - total score out of 6	

Education	University degree	0
	Diploma qualification	1
	Trade or non-trade qualification	2
	No qualification post-school	3
Occupation category	Occupation not reported	0
	Clerical and sales workers	1
	Labourers	2
	Professional	3
Income*	Income not reported	0
	Very low	1
	Moderate to High	2
Gender	Male	0
	Female	1
Age	Continuous	
Country of birth	Born abroad	0
	Born in Australia	1
Place of residence	Rural	0
	Urban	1
Year	2001	0
	2004	1
	2007	2
	2010	3
	2013	4

Notes: Additional recoding was performed for analysis of AES immigration variables displayed in the appendix: five-point scales were collapsed to three-point scales for the graphs shown in Appendices I and J, and for attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants, Figure 5.3. However, all five points were used to construct the additive scales. *Additional notes on income below.

Recoding of income

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Low Income Tax Threshold (LITO), which is the Australian Tax Office's measure of low income, was used to inform the recoding of the income categories collected in the AES (see ATO website, and ALA, 2016). LITOs were identified for the tax years in which federal elections were held. Some rounding had to be performed to align the income categories collected in the AES with the LITO values as noted in the table below (next page).

Table 8.2 AES income categories recoding

Election year	Notes
2001	The federal election was held on 10 November 2001, which fell in FY 2001–2002. The LITO value for FY2001–2002 was incomes < AUD 24,449 AES incomes < AUD 25,000 recoded as low.
2004	The federal election was held on 9 October 2004, which fell in FY 2004–2005. The LITO value for FY 2004-2005 was incomes < AUD 27,475 AES incomes < AUD 30,000 recoded as low.
2007	The federal election was held on 24 November 2007, which fell in FY 2007–2008. The LITO value for FY 2007–2008 was incomes < AUD 30,000. AES incomes < AUD 30,000 recoded as low.
2010	The federal election was held on 21 August 2010, which fell in FY 2010–2011. The LITO value for FY 2010–2011 was incomes < AUD 30,000. AES income < AUD 30,000 recoded as low.
2013	The federal election was held on 7 September 2013, which fell in FY 2013–2014. The LITO value for FY 2013–2014 was incomes < AUD 37,000. AES incomes < AUD 40,000 recoded as low.

Appendix B ASCO and ANZSCO coding of occupations

Table 8.3 Occupations recoding, AES 2001

Professionals	Clerical and sales	Labourers	Missing
10 Managers and Administrators 11 Generalist Managers 12 Specialist Managers 21 Science, Building and Engineering Profession 22 Business and Information Professionals 23 Health Professionals 24 Education Professionals 25 Social, Arts and Miscellaneous Professionals 31 Science, Engineering and Relates Ass Profess 32 Business and Administration Ass Professional 34 Health and Welfare Ass Professionals 39 Other Associate Professionals	33 Managing Supervisors (Sales and Service) 51 Secretaries and Personal Assistants 59 Other Advanced Clerical and Service 60 Intermediate Clerical 61 Intermediate Clerical 62 Intermediate Sales and Related Workers 63 Intermediate Service Workers 81 Elementary Clerks 82 Elementary Sales Workers 83 Elementary Service Workers	13 Farmers and Farm Managers 41 Mechanical and Fabrication Tradespersons 42 Automotive Tradespersons 43 Electrical and Electronics Tradespersons 44 Construction Tradespersons 45 Food Tradespersons 46 Skilled Agricultural and Horticultural Work 49 Other Tradespersons 70 Intermediate Production and Transport Workers 71 Intermediate Plant Operators 72 Intermediate Machine Operators 73 Road and Rail Transport Drivers 79 Other Intermediate Production and Transport 91 Cleaners 92 Factory Labourers 99 Other Labourers and Related Workers	-5 Student -4 Not in Labour Force -3 Not applicable -2 Inadequately described -1 Missing

Table 8.4 Occupations recoding, AES 2004

Professionals	Clerical and sales	Labourers	Missing
10 Managers and Administrators 11 Generalist Managers 12 Specialist Managers 20 Professionals 21 Science, Building and Engineering Professionals 22 Business and Information Professionals 23 Health Professionals 24 Education Professionals 25 Social, Arts and Miscellaneous Professionals 30 Associate Professionals 31 Science, Engineering and Related Associate Professionals 32 Business and Administration Associate Professionals 34 Health and Welfare Associate Professionals 39 Other Associate Professionals	33 Managing Supervisors (Sales and Service) 50 Advanced Clerical and Service Workers 51 Secretaries and Personal Assistants 59 Other Advanced Clerical and Service Workers 60 Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers 61 Intermediate Clerical Workers 62 Intermediate Sales and Related Workers 63 Intermediate Service Workers 80 Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service Workers 81 Elementary Clerks 82 Elementary Sales Workers 83 Elementary Service Workers	13 Farmers and Farm Managers 40 Tradespersons and Related Workers 41 Mechanical and Fabrication Engineering Tradespersons 42 Automotive Tradespersons 43 Electrical and Electronics Tradespersons 44 Construction Tradespersons 45 Food Tradespersons 46 Skilled Agricultural and Horticultural Workers 49 Other Tradespersons and Related Workers 70 Intermediate Production and Transport Workers 71 Intermediate Plant Operators 72 Intermediate Machine Operators 73 Road and Rail Transport Drivers 79 Other Intermediate Production and Transport Workers 90 Labourers and Related Workers 91 Cleaners 92 Factory Labourers 99 Other Labourer and Related Workers	-5 Student -4 Not in Labour Force -3 Not applicable -2 Inadequately described -1 Missing

Table 8.5 Occupations recoding, AES 2007

Professionals	Clerical and sales	Labourers	Missing
10 Managers 11 Chief executives, general managers and legislators 13 Specialist Managers 20 Professionals 21 Arts and media professionals 22 Business, human resource and marketing professionals 23 Design, engineering, science and transport professionals 24 Education professionals 25 Health Professionals 26 ICT Professionals 27 Legal, social and welfare professionals 31 Engineering, ICT and science technicians	14 Hospitality, retail and service managers 50 Clerical and administrative workers 51 Office managers and program administrators 52 Personal assistants and secretaries 53 General clerical workers 54 Inquiry clerks and receptionists 55 Numerical clerks 56 Clerical and office support workers 59 Other clerical and administrative workers 60 Sales workers 61 Sales representatives and agents 62 Sales assistants and salespersons 63 Sales support workers	12 Farmers and farm managers 30 Technicians and trades workers 32 Automotive and engineering trades workers 33 Construction trades workers 34 Electrotechnology and telecommunications trades workers 35 Food trades workers 36 Skilled animal and horticultural workers 39 Other technicians and trades workers 40 Community and personal service workers 41 Health and welfare support workers 42 Carers and aides 43 Hospitality workers 44 Protective service workers 45 Sports and personal service workers 70 Machinery operators and drivers 71 Machine and stationary plant operators 72 Mobile plant operators 73 Road and rail drivers 74 Storepersons 80 Labourers 81 Cleaners and laundry workers 82 Construction and mining workers 83 Factory process workers 84 Farm, forestry and garden workers 85 Food preparation assistants 89 Other labourers	-4 Not in Labour Force -2 Inadequately described -1 Missing

Table 8.6 Occupations recoding, AES 2010

Professionals	Clerical and sales	Labourers	Missing
10 Managers 11 Chief executives, general managers and legislators 13 Specialist Managers 20 Professionals 21 Arts and media professionals 22 Business, human resource and marketing professionals 23 Design, engineering, science and transport professionals 24 Education professionals 25 Health Professionals 26 ICT Professionals 27 Legal, social and welfare professionals 31 Engineering, ICT and science technicians	14 Hospitality, retail and service managers 50 Clerical and administrative workers 51 Office managers and program administrators 52 Personal assistants and secretaries 53 General clerical workers 54 Inquiry clerks and receptionists 55 Numerical clerks 56 Clerical and office support workers 59 Other clerical and administrative workers 60 Sales workers 61 Sales representatives and agents 62 Sales assistants and salespersons 63 Sales support workers	12 Farmers and farm managers 30 Technicians and trades workers 32 Automotive and engineering trades workers 33 Construction trades workers 34 Electrotechnology and telecommunications trades workers 35 Food trades workers 36 Skilled animal and horticultural workers 39 Other technicians and trades workers 40 Community and personal service workers 41 Health and welfare support workers 42 Carers and aides 43 Hospitality workers 44 Protective service workers 45 Sports and personal service workers 70 Machinery operators and drivers 71 Machine and stationary plant operators 72 Mobile plant operators 73 Road and rail drivers 74 Storepersons 80 Labourers 81 Cleaners and laundry workers 82 Construction and mining workers 83 Factory process workers 84 Farm, forestry and garden workers 85 Food preparation assistants 89 Other labourers	-1

Table 8.7 Occupations recoding, AES 2013

Professionals	Clerical and sales	Labourers	Missing
10 Managers 11 Chief executives, general managers and legislators 13 Specialist Managers 20 Professionals 21 Arts and media professionals 22 Business, human resource and marketing professionals 23 Design, engineering, science and transport professionals 24 Education professionals 25 Health Professionals 26 ICT Professionals 27 Legal, social and welfare professionals 31 Engineering, ICT and science technicians	14 Hospitality, retail and service managers 50 Clerical and administrative workers 51 Office managers and program administrators 52 Personal assistants and secretaries 53 General clerical workers 54 Inquiry clerks and receptionists 55 Numerical clerks 56 Clerical and office support workers 59 Other clerical and administrative workers 60 Sales workers 61 Sales representatives and agents 62 Sales assistants and salespersons 63 Sales support workers	12 Farmers and farm managers 30 Technicians and trades workers 32 Automotive and engineering trades workers 33 Construction trades workers 34 Electrotechnology and telecommunications trades workers 35 Food trades workers 36 Skilled animal and horticultural workers 39 Other technicians and trades workers 40 Community and personal service workers 41 Health and welfare support workers 42 Carers and aides 43 Hospitality workers 44 Protective service workers 45 Sports and personal service workers 70 Machinery operators and drivers 71 Machine and stationary plant operators 72 Mobile plant operators 73 Road and rail drivers 74 Storepersons 80 Labourers 81 Cleaners and laundry workers 82 Construction and mining workers 83 Factory process workers 84 Farm, forestry and garden workers 85 Food preparation assistants 89 Other labourers	-1 99

Appendix C Weighted data

As can be seen in Table 8.8, responses to the question which asks respondents whether they agree that asylum seekers boats should be turned back differ minimally between weighted and unweighted values for the 2013 dataset.

Table 8.8 Unweighted and weighted attitudes towards asylum seekers, AES 2013

	Turn back boats carrying asylum seekers			
	(n)	2013 Unweighted (%)	(n)	2013 Weighted (%)
Strongly agree	1146	29.8	1106.6	28.8
Agree	797	20.7	755.1	19.7
Neither	653	17	684.3	17.8
Disagree	647	16.8	674.3	17.6
Strongly disagree	601	15.6	620.1	16.1
Total	3844	100	3840.4	100

Data sources: AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a, 2014b).

As noted in Chapter 3 (p. 48), weighted data are presented for AES 2010 and AES 2013 in descriptive statistics throughout the thesis unless noted otherwise. For further information see the AES Weight Table for 2010 and Technical Report for 2013 (ADA, 2010; Myers & Vickers, 2014).

Appendix D AES Information – AAPOR basic disclosure checklist

The American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) recommends that researchers disclose information about data collection for any report that is for public release. AAPOR provides a checklist which they describe as the 'minimum disclosure requirements' (AAPOR, 2009). Much of the information the AAPOR recommends be disclosed is available for the AES, but not all. I have assembled what information is available about the AES into the following tables drawing on the the Australian Data Archive: https://www.ada.edu.au/

AES 2001

BASIC DISCLOSURE ELEMENTS DETAILS	
Survey investigators	Clive Bean David Gow Ian McAllister
Survey/Data collection supplier	Australian Data Archive
Population represented	Persons on the Australian electoral roll at the close of rolls, October 2001.
Sample size	2010 – response rate not provided.
Mode of data collection	Self-completion mail out – mail back.
Type of sample (probability/non-probability)	Stratified systematic random sample.
Start and end dates of data collection	2001-11-12 – 2001-11-12
Margin of sampling error for total sample	Not provided.
Margin of sampling error for key subgroups	Not provided.
Are the data weighted?	No.
Contact for more information	Ian McAllister, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, ACTON, ACT, 0200

AES 2004*

BASIC DISCLOSURE ELEMENTS DETAILS	
Survey investigators	Clive Bean Ian McAllister Rachel Gibson David Gow
Survey/Data collection supplier	Australian Data Archive
Population represented	Persons on the Australian electoral roll at the close of rolls, September 2004.
Sample size	Main sample of a total mailing of 4250, there were 1769 completed returns giving a raw response rate was 42%. An adjusted response rate of 45% was calculated by removing

	the out of scope sample (deceased, incapable, return to sender, n=275).
Mode of data collection	Self-completion mail out – mail back.
Type of sample (probability/non-probability)	Stratified systematic random sample. The sample of electors for all Australia was drawn from the Commonwealth Electoral Roll by the Australian Electoral Commission following the close of rolls for the 2004 election. The Commission supplied name and address information only, to be used only for this study. The sample was selected to be proportional to the population on a state by state basis. Multi-stage sample.
Start and end dates of data collection	2004-10-08 – 2004-10-08
Margin of sampling error for total sample	Not provided.
Margin of sampling error for key subgroups	Not provided.
Are the data weighted?	No.
Contact for more information	Ian McAllister, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, ACTON, ACT, 0200

* This research does not include the supplementary sample that was also collected in 2004, which aimed to collect information from certain ethnicities based on the "perceived ethnic origin of the surname" of potential respondents (ADA, 2005).

AES 2007

BASIC DISCLOSURE ELEMENTS DETAILS	
Survey investigators	Clive Bean Ian McAllister David Gow
Survey/Data collection supplier	Australian Data Archive
Population represented	Persons on the Australian electoral roll at the close of rolls, October 2007.
Sample size	Of a total mailing of 5000, there were 1873 completed returns giving a raw response rate of 37.5%. An adjusted response rate of 40.2% was calculated by removing the out of scope sample (deceased, incapable, return to sender, n=337).
Mode of data collection	Self-completion mail out – mail back.
Type of sample (probability/non-probability)	Stratified systematic random sample. The sample of electors for all Australia was drawn from the Commonwealth Electoral Roll by the Australian Electoral Commission following the close of rolls for the 2007 election. The Commission supplied name and address information only, to be used only for this study. The sample was selected to be proportional to the population on a state by state basis.
Start and end dates of data collection	2007-11-23 – 2007-11-23
Margin of sampling error for total sample	Not provided.
Margin of sampling error for key subgroups	Not provided.
Are the data weighted?	No.
Contact for more information	Ian McAllister, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, ACTON, ACT, 0200

AES 2010

BASIC DISCLOSURE ELEMENTS DETAILS	
Survey investigators	Ian McAllister, The Australian National University Clive Bean, Queensland University of Technology Rachel Kay Gibson, University of Manchester Juliet Pietsch, The Australian National University
Survey/Data collection supplier	The Social Research Centre (SRC)
Population represented	Persons on the Australian electoral roll at the close of rolls, July 19th 2010.
Sample size	Version 1: Of a total mailing of 4,999, there were 2,003 completed returns - 1,838 mail returns and 165 online returns - giving a raw response rate of 40.1%. An adjusted response rate of 42.5% was calculated by removing the out of scope sample (deceased, incapable, return to sender, n=282). Version 2: As per Version 1 with the following additions for "top up" components: Stage 1: Of a total 1,015 invitations calls, 346 agreed/qualified to complete AES study online. 129 respondents completed the online survey - giving a completion rate of 37.3%, where completion rate is defined as completed online survey as a per cent of persons accepting an invitation to the online survey. Stage 2: Of a total 1002 invitations, the requirement of 82 completed online surveys was fulfilled, resulting in a close of the survey - giving a response rate of 8.1%.
Mode of data collection	Self-completion mail out – mail back, or online.
Type of sample (probability/non-probability)	Stratified systematic random sample.
Start and end dates of data collection	2010-08-23 2011-02-07
Margin of sampling error for total sample	Not provided.
Margin of sampling error for key subgroups	Not provided.
Are the data weighted?	Final data was weighted consecutively by; Gender (national 18+ gender distribution), Age (actual enrolled population), State / Territory (actual enrolled population), 2010 voting behaviour (based on voting data provided by the ANU).
Contact for more information	Australian Data Archive.

AES 2013

BASIC DISCLOSURE ELEMENTS DETAILS	
Survey investigators	Clive Bean, Queensland University of Technology Ian McAllister, The Australian National University Juliet Pietsch, The Australian National University Rachel Kay Gibson, University of Manchester
Survey/Data collection supplier	The Social Research Centre (SRC)
Population represented	Australian adults aged 18 years or over, enrolled and eligible to vote in Australian elections.
Sample size	Of a total mailing of 12,200, there were 3,955 completed returns - with 3,379 mail returns and 576 online returns - giving a raw response rate of 32.4 per cent. An adjusted response rate of 34.2 per cent was calculated by removing the out of scope sample (deceased, incapable, return to sender, n=530).
Mode of data collection	Self-completion mail out – mail back, or online.

Type of sample (probability/non-probability)	One-stage stratified or systematic random sample.
Start and end dates of data collection	2013-09-06 – 2014-01-06
Margin of sampling error for total sample	Not provided.
Margin of sampling error for key subgroups	Not provided.
Are the data weighted?	Data was weighted by: Sex, Age and State (based on Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) enrolment data for the 2013 election) and party vote (based on AEC final election vote tallies).
Contact for more information	Ian McAllister, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, ACTON, ACT, 0200

Appendix E Factor analysis

Table 8.9 Factor analysis of select variables, AES 2001–2013.

Variable description	Factor					
	Immigration attitudes	Punitiveness – addressing threats	Assistance to Aboriginal people	Future economic well-being	Past economic well-being	Political affiliation
Number of migrants allowed into Australia	**.681**	.219	.259	.007	-.080	.073
Number of immigrants increased	**-.749**	-.217	-.134	.034	.047	-.018
Immigrants increase crime	**.634**	.395	.142	-.014	-.032	.065
Immigrants take jobs from Australians	**.702**	.273	.034	-.019	-.055	-.016
Immigrants make Australia more open	**-.710**	.021	-.056	.022	.024	-.041
Immigrants are good for the economy	**-.788**	-.015	-.075	.045	.035	.012
Equal opportunities for migrants	**.588**	.203	.364	.013	-.084	.087
Asylum seeker boats should be turned back	.444	**.513**	.274	.085	-.103	.106
Building closer links with Asia	.447	.105	.378	-.013	-.028	-.054
Financial situation of household now compared to one year ago	-.091	-.076	-.004	.179	**.835**	.043
Economic situation of country now compared to one year ago	-.095	.016	-.021	.089	**.863**	.015
Financial situation of household in one year	-.057	-.042	-.008	**.890**	.185	.056
Economic situation of country in one year	-.015	.050	.013	**.904**	.092	.068
Stiffer sentences if break law	.149	**.721**	.135	.016	-.084	-.006
Death penalty reintroduced for murder	.266	**.661**	.248	-.019	-.071	-.028
Party identification	.033	.030	.008	.011	.021	**.818**
Self-reported position on the left-right spectrum	-.037	-.381	-.205	-.138	.033	-.365
Vote in House of Representatives	.035	.086	.049	.063	.043	**.794**
Aboriginal land rights	.248	.213	**.822**	-.001	.007	.110
Government help for Aboriginal people	.244	.183	**.843**	.005	-.005	.048
Government spend more on defence	.155	**.630**	-.003	-.057	.116	.156
Eigenvalues	6.031	2.236	1.451	1.169	1.121	1.005

Data source: AES 2001–2013. *Notes:* Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in six iterations. Mean values replace missing. Factor loadings above 0.5 appear in bold.

Factor analysis additional notes:

Factor analysis was conducted to search for relationships between several variables that could have been conceptually related to perceptions of immigration. Principal axis factoring was used as the extraction method and Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization used as the rotation method. Variables with factor loadings above 0.5 are shown in bold and only factors with Eigenvalues greater than 1.0 are included in the table. Only factors with an Eigenvalue higher than 1.0 can be treated as statistically relevant for conceptual interpretation.

The most pertinent results from the factor analysis are discussed in Chapter 3, p. 76. In addition to the factors described in the chapter, the factor analysis also revealed two latent variables concerning the economy. One of these relates to future economic well-being and the other, relates to perceptions of economic well-being in the past, as can be seen in Table 8.9. Importantly, the economic variables were not shown to have relationships with the immigration variables. Perceptions about past economic performance likely points to concerns about previous governments' economic policies and successes or failures, as the case may be, following each federal election.

Variables concerning attitudes towards Aboriginal welfare and land rights were also included in the factor analysis as I suspected that if a factor were identified that included both these variables and an immigration variable, there may have been a factor related to prejudice, but this was not born out in the analysis. Still, research has shown strong correlations between prejudice towards Aboriginal people and other forms of prejudice (see Esses et al., 2001; Harell et al., 2011; Schweitzer et al., 2005, p. 4). However, as the focus of this study is principally on human capital, political affiliation and economic competition, I will not consider attitudes towards

Aboriginal people in connection to immigration on the grounds that there is no conceptual justification for doing so using the questions that are included in the AES. The AES probes issues of perceptions of Aboriginal people being dispossessed from their land within Australia, which is unrelated to migration issues. Additionally, at less than two per cent of the population, with the majority of Aboriginal people living in remote communities, there is little competition for work with other groups in Australia. Attitudes towards Aboriginal people are complex, would in some cases be racially motivated, and if these attitudes were included in the analysis towards immigrants, it would complicate and detach this study from existing literature on human capital, political affiliation, and economic competition theories. There may be some relationship between perceptions of cultural threat and indigenous minorities, but the questions posed in the AES do not adequately probe perceptions of cultural threat to make that connection.

A factor concerning political affiliation was also identified in the analysis. This factor comprises two measures: which party the respondent identifies with, and their vote in the House of Representatives. Another variable which might be thought to be closely related to political identification, concerning self-reported left-right political leaning, was not identified as belonging to this factor (for detail on the question concerning political leaning, see Section 3.3.1 Political party identification, p. 62).

Appendix F Immigration and Political Affiliation Study recruitment e-mail

You are invited to participate in a survey that examines attitudes towards immigration, other important policy issues, and political affiliation in Australia.

To complete the survey, follow this link:
www.ozIPAS.com

Who is conducting this research?
This research is being conducted by Evan Williams who is a PhD student in the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University (ANU).

Why have I received this e-mail?
Students studying in the School of Politics and International Relations are asked to participate in this research as they 1. form an under represented demographic in studies concerning salient political issues, and 2. are a large, diverse group.

You will receive no further e-mails concerning this research. Your e-mail address is not known to the researcher and this study is in no way related to any courses in the School of Politics and International Relations, ANU.

If I choose to take part, can I be identified?
No. The link provided to the survey in this e-mail is the same for all addressees.

Do I have to participate?
No. Participation is voluntary, but your views are important and can help shape this research.

More information about this research and the survey is available on the Participant Information Sheet which can be found at the beginning of the survey.

Kind regards,
Evan Williams
Doctoral Candidate
School of Politics and International Relations
College of Arts and Social Sciences
The Australian National University

Haydon Allen Building - Room 1190
Canberra ACT 0200, Australia
E: evan.williams@anu.edu.au

Appendix G Images

Figure 8.1 Screen grab of Immigration and Political Affiliation Study website

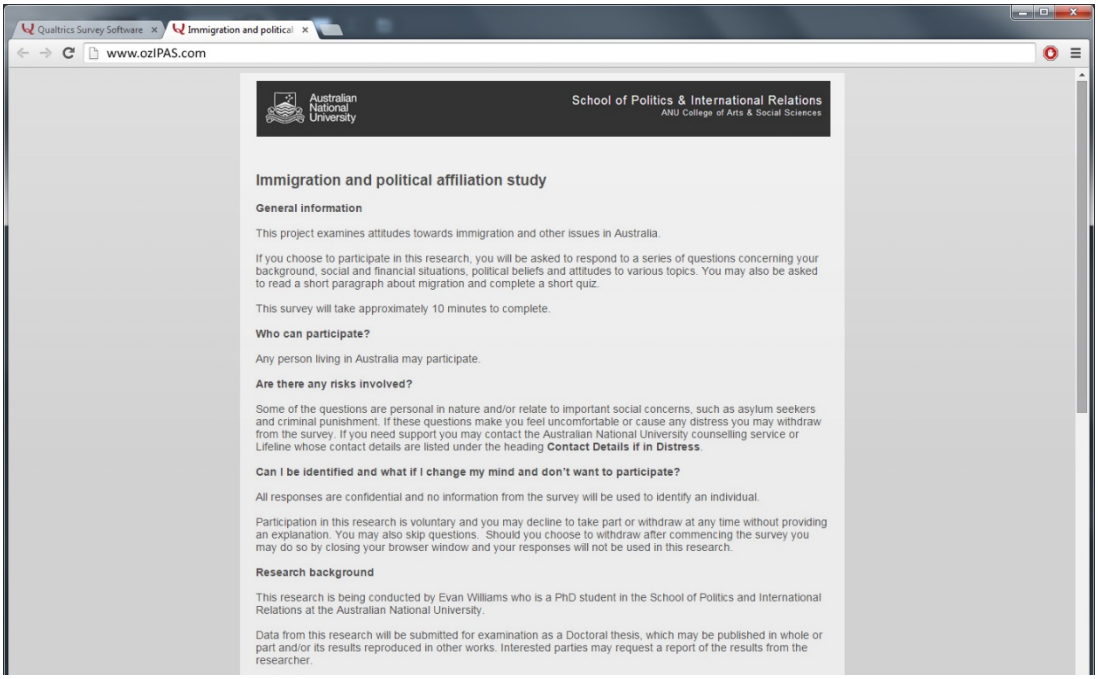


Figure 8.2 Immigration and Political Affiliation Study flyer

Appendix H Immigration and Political Affiliation Study – Participant information

Notes: The following presents the Immigration and Political Affiliation Study

(IPAS) participant information.

Immigration and political affiliation study [survey information]

General information

This project examines attitudes towards immigration and other issues in Australia.

If you choose to participate in this research, you will be asked to respond to a series of questions concerning your background, social and financial situations, political beliefs and attitudes to various topics. You may also be asked to read a short paragraph about migration and complete a short quiz.

This survey will take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Who can participate?

Any person living in Australia may participate.

Are there any risks involved?

Some of the questions are personal in nature and/or relate to important social concerns, such as asylum seekers and criminal punishment. If these questions make you feel uncomfortable or cause any distress you may withdraw from the survey. If you need support you may contact the Australian National University counselling service or Lifeline whose contact details are listed under the heading **Contact Details if in Distress**.

Can I be identified and what if I change my mind and don't want to participate?

All responses are confidential and no information from the survey will be used to identify an individual.

Participation in this research is voluntary and you may decline to take part or withdraw at any time without providing an explanation. You may also skip questions. Should you choose to withdraw after commencing the survey you may do so by closing your browser window and your responses will not be used in this research.

Research background

This research is being conducted by Evan Williams who is a PhD student in the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University.

Data from this research will be submitted for examination as a Doctoral thesis, which may be published in whole or part and/or its results reproduced in other works. Interested parties may request a report of the results from the researcher.

Data management

All survey responses will be kept in the strictest confidence as far as the law allows. All response data will be collected and stored without personal particulars (personal identifiers) that could allow the identification of an individual. All published results will refer to the collated statistical analysis of all responses and will not refer to individual respondents.

Data management procedures will be in compliance with the *Commonwealth Privacy Act* 1988 and the *ANU Policy for Responsible Practice of Research*. Data will be stored on password protected ANU computer resources and kept for at least five years from the date of any publication arising from this research.

Queries and Concerns:

For further information about this research project, or to raise queries or concerns, please contact:

Primary investigator:	Evan Williams
Fax:	+61 2 6125 0743
E-mail:	Evan.Williams@anu.edu.au
Supervisor:	Juliet Pietsch
Telephone:	+61 2 61258311
Fax:	+61 2 6125 0743
E-mail:	Juliet.Pietch@anu.edu.au

Contact Details if in Distress:

- ANU Counselling Service: +61 2 6125 2442
- Mental Health Crisis Service: 1800 629 354 (24 hours)
- Lifeline Canberra: 13 11 14 (24 hours)
- Kids Helpline (for people aged 25 and under): 1800 55 1800 (24 Hours)

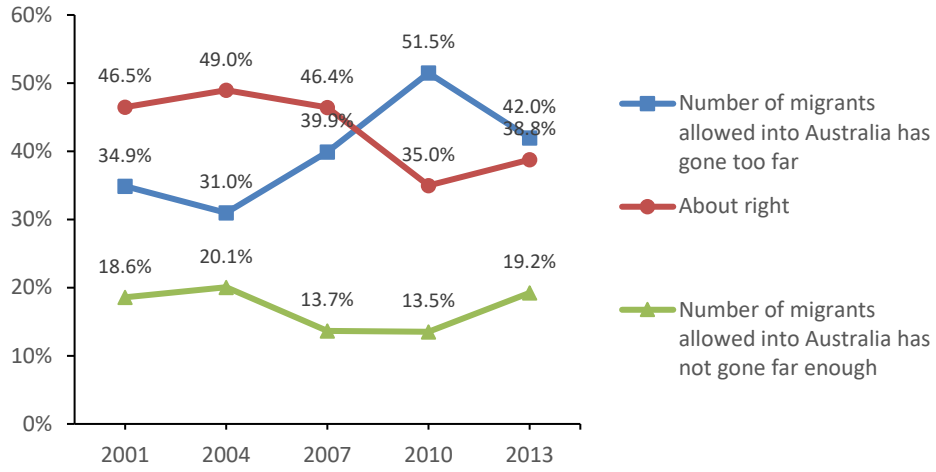
Ethics Committee Clearance:

The ethical aspects of this research have been approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or complaints about how this research has been conducted, please contact:

Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: +61 2 6125 3427
E-mail: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

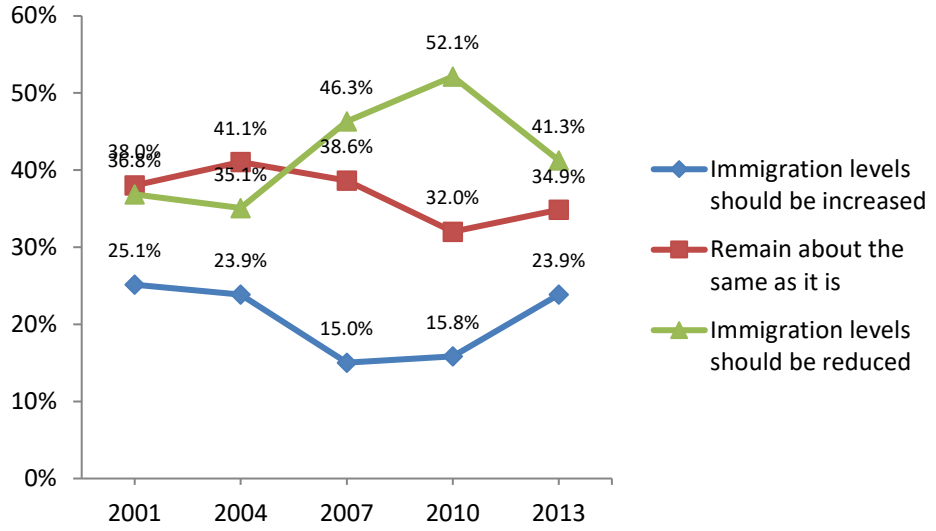
Appendix I Perceptions of immigration policy

Figure 8.3 Attitudes towards the number of migrants allowed into Australia, AES 2001–2013



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; Pre-question (PQ): "The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?" Literal question (LQ): "The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time."; 2001, N=1933; 2004, N=1695; 2007, N=1815; 2010, N=2041(W); 2013, N=3834(W).

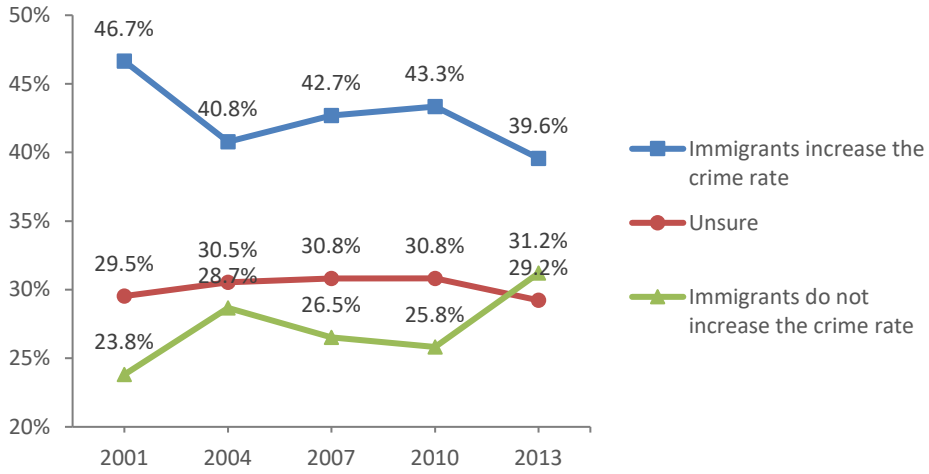
Figure 8.4 Attitudes towards future levels of immigration, AES 2001-2013



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?" LQ: "Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?"; 2001, N=1973; 2004, N=1727; 2007, N=1843; 2010, N=2052(W); 2013, N=3845(W).

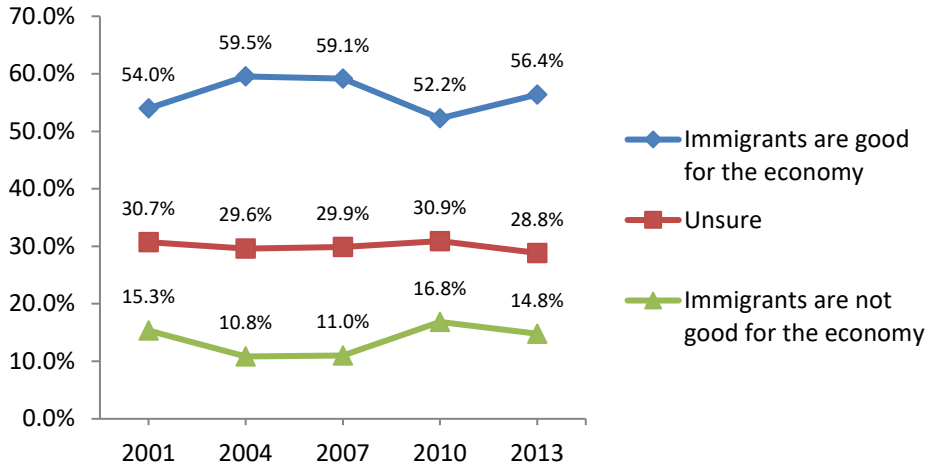
Appendix J Perceptions of the effects of immigration

Figure 8.5 Attitudes towards whether immigrants increase crime, AES 2001–2013



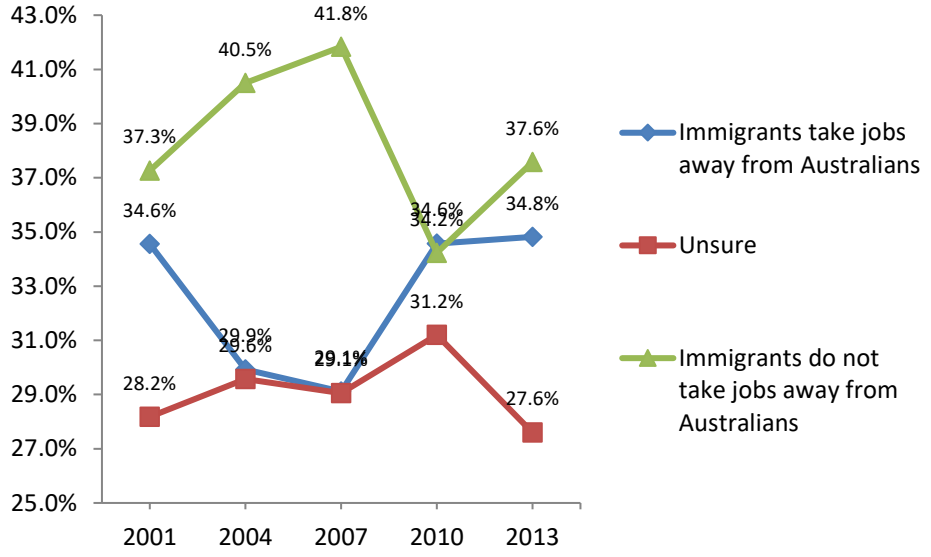
Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" LQ: "Immigrants increase the crime rate."; 2001, N=1957; 2004, N=1709; 2007, N=1818; 2010, N=2044(W); 2013, N=3836(W).

Figure 8.6 Attitudes towards whether immigrants are good for the economy, AES 2001–2013



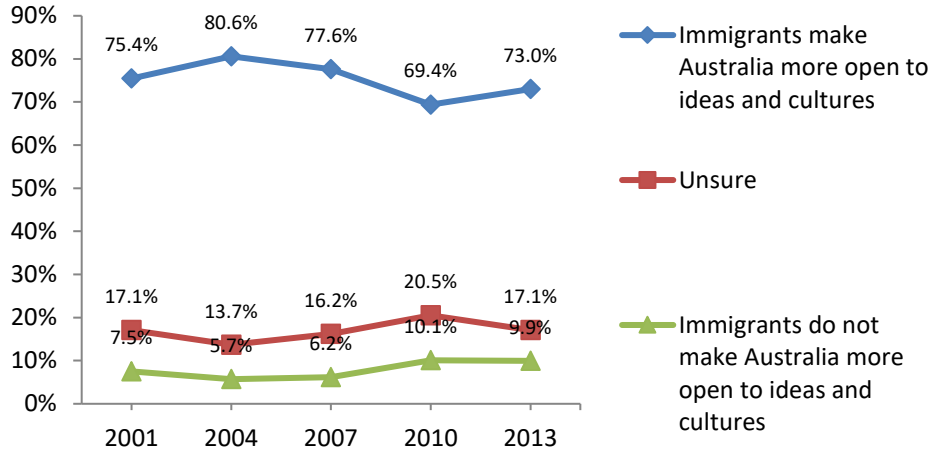
Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" LQ: "Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy."; 2001, N=1951; 2004, N=1715; 2007, N=1821; 2010, N=2048(W); 2013, N=3834(W).

Figure 8.7 Attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs away from Australians, AES 2001–2013



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" LQ: "Immigrants take jobs away from people who are born in Australia."; 2001, N=1959; 2004, N=1711; 2007, N=1824; 2010, N=2045(W); 2013, N=3834(W).

Figure 8.8 Attitudes towards whether immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures, AES 2001–2013



Data sources: AES 2001 (Bean et al., 2004); AES 2004 (Bean et al., 2005); AES 2007 (Bean et al., 2008); AES 2010 (McAllister et al., 2011); AES 2013 (Bean et al., 2014a). *Notes:* five response categories have been collapsed into three; PQ: "There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" LQ: "Immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures."; 2001, N=1957; 2004, N=1716; 2007, N=1833; 2010, N=2042(W); 2013, N=3836(W).

Appendix K Tests of model effects

Table 8.10 Test of model effects, favourable attitudes towards immigration policy, AES 2001, 2004, 2007 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
(Intercept)	2100.434	1	.000
Party identification	15.370	5	.009
Strength of party identification	5.285	2	.071
Compulsory voting	22.921	1	.000
Care which party wins	.013	1	.910
Interest in politics	33.255	1	.000
Educational attainment	471.178	3	.000
Occupation category	8.303	3	.040
Income level	2.911	2	.233
Gender	1.291	1	.256
Place of birth	115.737	1	.000
Place of residence	71.322	1	.000
Year	220.821	4	.000
Political knowledge	29.568	1	.000
Age	20.565	1	.000
Party identification *x* strength of identification	37.658	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.11 Test of model effects, favourable attitudes towards the effects of immigration, AES 2001, 2004, 2007 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
(Intercept)	5221.721	1	.000
Party identification	11.752	5	.038
Strength of party identification	3.852	2	.146
Compulsory voting	79.403	1	.000
Care which party wins	1.925	1	.165
Interest in politics	70.321	1	.000
Educational attainment	650.715	3	.000
Occupation category	12.456	3	.006
Income level	2.090	2	.352
Gender	.357	1	.550
Place of birth	224.154	1	.000
Place of residence	130.053	1	.000
Year	39.713	4	.000
Political knowledge	55.312	1	.000
Age	.701	1	.403
Party identification *x* strength of identification	49.206	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.12 Test of model effects, favourable attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs, AES 2001, 2004, 2007 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
(Intercept)	2057.327	1	.000
Party identification	8.379	5	.137
Strength of party identification	3.826	2	.148
Compulsory voting	48.704	1	.000
Care which party wins	.693	1	.405
Interest in politics	51.836	1	.000
Educational attainment	432.625	3	.000
Occupation category	11.532	3	.009
Income level	9.531	2	.009
Gender	.019	1	.891
Place of birth	191.985	1	.000
Place of residence	82.939	1	.000
Year	25.953	4	.000
Political knowledge	42.528	1	.000
Age	.118	1	.731
Party identification *x* strength of identification	48.828	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.13 Test of model effects, favourable attitudes towards equal opportunity for migrants, AES 2001, 2004, 2007 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
(Intercept)	2674.130	1	.000
Party identification	40.382	5	.000
Strength of party identification	.313	2	.855
Compulsory voting	6.364	1	.012
Care which party wins	.172	1	.678
Interest in politics	27.809	1	.000
Educational attainment	344.566	3	.000
Occupation category	12.469	3	.006
Income level	4.922	2	.085
Gender	6.028	1	.014
Place of birth	111.523	1	.000
Place of residence	33.145	1	.000
Year	103.818	4	.000
Political knowledge	26.768	1	.000
Age	9.537	1	.002
Party identification *x* strength of identification	27.844	10	.002

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.14 Test of model effects, favourable attitudes towards asylum seekers, AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013 (OLS estimates)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
(Intercept)	788.245	1	.000
Party identification	74.208	5	.000
Strength of party identification	2.151	2	.341
Compulsory voting	23.060	1	.000
Care which party wins	9.208	1	.002
Interest in politics	48.995	1	.000
Educational attainment	512.465	3	.000
Occupation category	3.610	3	.307
Income level	4.514	2	.105
Gender	3.577	1	.059
Place of birth	.756	1	.385
Place of residence	56.765	1	.000
Year	65.179	3	.000
Political knowledge	36.454	1	.000
Age	22.612	1	.000
Gender *x* age	7.046	1	.008
Party identification *x* strength of identification	65.325	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013.

Appendix L Additional regression models

Table 8.15 Attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	coefficient		SE
Party identification			
National	0.195		0.190
Liberal	0.078		0.080
Greens	0.372	*	0.155
Other	0.031		0.191
No party	0.221		0.197
Labor	-		-
Political interest and knowledge			
Very strong supporter	0.078		0.070
Strength not reported	-0.786	**	0.256
Not very strong supporter	-		-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.325	***	0.046
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-		-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.054		0.049
Cares a good deal which party wins	-		-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.377	***	0.054
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-		-
Political knowledge	0.084	***	0.013
Party identification x strength			
National *x* very strong	-0.526	*	0.223
National *x* strength not reported	0.482		0.876
National *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.411	***	0.095
Liberal *x* strength not reported	0.459		0.337
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
Greens *x* very strong	0.651	***	0.188
Greens *x* strength not reported	1.648		1.139
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
Other *x* very strong	-0.299		0.236
Other *x* strength not reported	0.461		0.449
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
No party *x* very strong	-1.053	*	0.515
No party *x* strength not reported	0.622	*	0.323
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
Labor *x* very strong	-		-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-		-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-		-
Socioeconomic measures			
University educated	0.977	***	0.055
Diploma	0.476	***	0.062
Other qualification	-0.045		0.047
No qualification	-		-
Occupation not reported	0.023		0.068
Clerical and sales	-0.053		0.050
Labourer	-0.136	**	0.051
Professional	-		-
Income not reported	0.015		0.081
Low income	-0.134	**	0.045
Moderate to high income	-		-
Background			
Male	-0.010		0.038
Female	-		-
Age	<0.001		0.001
Born abroad	0.601	***	0.044

	Born in Australia	-	-
	Rural	-0.345 ***	0.038
	Urban	-	-
Year			
	2001	0.134 *	0.057
	2004	0.110	0.061
	2007	0.216 ***	0.057
	2010	-0.065	0.052
	2013	-	-
(N)		9951	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

Table 8.16 Test of model effects, attitudes towards whether immigrants take jobs, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
Party identification	9.115	5	.105
Strength of party identification	3.512	2	.173
Compulsory voting	50.857	1	.000
Care which party wins	1.200	1	.273
Interest in politics	49.147	1	.000
Educational attainment	417.638	3	.000
Occupation category	9.609	3	.022
Income level	9.535	2	.009
Gender	.069	1	.792
Place of birth	185.239	1	.000
Place of residence	81.436	1	.000
Year	26.294	4	.000
Political knowledge	41.346	1	.000
Age	.126	1	.722
Party identification *x* strength of identification	55.562	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.17 Attitudes towards equal opportunities for migrants, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	coefficient	SE
Party identification		
National	-0.437 *	0.199
Liberal	-0.299 ***	0.086
Greens	0.961 ***	0.167
Other	-0.239	0.210
No party	0.339	0.219
Labor	-	-
Political interest and knowledge		
Very strong supporter	0.239 ***	0.075
Strength not reported	-0.077	0.258
Not very strong supporter	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.126 **	0.048
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.001	0.052
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.283 ***	0.057
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-
Political knowledge	0.076 ***	0.014
Party identification x strength		
National *x* very strong	-0.209	0.233
National *x* strength not reported	0.297	0.832
National *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.440 ***	0.101
Liberal *x* strength not reported	-0.422	0.347
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Greens *x* very strong	0.261	0.198
Greens *x* strength not reported	0.059 *	1.126
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Other *x* very strong	-0.258	0.254
Other *x* strength not reported	0.369	0.477
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
No party *x* very strong	-0.538	0.605
No party *x* strength not reported	-0.136	0.339
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Labor *x* very strong	-	-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-	-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Socioeconomic measures		
University educated	0.855 ***	0.058
Diploma	0.194 **	0.066
Other qualification	-0.231 ***	0.050
No qualification	-	
Occupation not reported	0.191 **	0.072
Clerical and sales	0.005	0.053
Labourer	-0.059	0.054
Professional	-	-
Income not reported	-0.184 *	0.085
Low income	-0.007	0.047
Moderate to high income	-	-
Background		
Male	-0.096 *	0.040
Female	-	-
Age	-0.004 ***	0.001
Born abroad	0.513 ***	0.046
Born in Australia	-	-
Rural	-0.230 ***	0.040
Urban	-	-

Year		
2001	0.239 ***	0.059
2004	0.472 ***	0.065
2007	0.454 ***	0.060
2010	0.003	0.054
2013	-	-
(N)	9873	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

Table 8.18 Test of model effects, attitudes towards equal opportunities of migrants, AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
Party identification	42.572	5	.000
Strength of party identification	.187	2	.911
Compulsory voting	6.819	1	.009
Care which party wins	.000	1	.991
Interest in politics	24.851	1	.000
Educational attainment	358.209	3	.000
Occupation category	12.765	3	.005
Income level	4.749	2	.093
Gender	5.669	1	.017
Place of birth	121.486	1	.000
Place of residence	32.414	1	.000
Year	101.059	4	.000
Political knowledge	30.260	1	.000
Age	10.354	1	.001
Party identification *x* strength of identification	28.449	10	.002

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013.

Table 8.19 Attitudes towards turning back the boats, AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	coefficient	SE
Party identification		
National	-0.358	0.205
Liberal	-0.662 ***	0.086
Greens	0.819 ***	0.165
Other	-0.197	0.200
No party	-0.215	0.255
Labor	-	-
Political interest and knowledge		
Very strong supporter	0.183 *	0.075
Strength not reported	-0.213	0.305
Not very strong supporter	-	-
Votes because it is compulsory	-0.212 ***	0.049
Would definitely vote even if not compulsory	-	-
Does not care much or at all which party wins	-0.163 **	0.053
Cares a good deal which party wins	-	-
Not much or no interest in politics	-0.381 ***	0.058
Some or a good deal of interest in politics	-	-
Political knowledge	0.084 ***	0.014
Party identification x strength	-	-
National *x* very strong	-1.058 ***	0.245
National *x* strength not reported	0.001	1.329
National *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Liberal *x* very strong	-0.608 ***	0.102
Liberal *x* strength not reported	-0.551	0.435
Liberal *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Greens *x* very strong	0.324	0.204
Greens *x* strength not reported	-0.366	1.053
Greens *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Other *x* very strong	-0.338	0.247
Other *x* strength not reported	0.365	0.477
Other *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
No party *x* very strong	-1.083	0.933
No party *x* strength not reported	0.283	0.398
No party *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Labor *x* very strong	-	-
Labor *x* strength not reported	-	-
Labor *x* not very strong supporter	-	-
Socioeconomic measures		
University educated	1.097 ***	0.059
Diploma	0.529 ***	0.068
Other qualification	-0.053	0.052
No qualification	-	-
Occupation not reported	0.016	0.073
Clerical and sales	-0.028	0.054
Labourer	-0.088	0.056
Professional	-	-
Income not reported	-0.167 *	0.088
Low income	-0.014	0.049
Moderate to high income	-	-
Background		
Male	0.206 *	0.132
Female	-	-
Age	-0.003	0.002
Male *x* age	-0.006 *	0.002
Female *x* age	-	-
Born abroad	-0.022	0.047
Born in Australia	-	-

	Rural	-0.315 ***	0.042
	Urban	-	-
Year			
	2001	-0.431 ***	0.057
	2004	-0.203 ***	0.061
	2010	-0.132 **	0.052
	2013	-	-
(N)		8454	

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013. *Notes:* - This parameter is zero because it is redundant * Statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. Multicollinearity: examination of the correlation matrix for parameter estimates did not reveal evidence of multicollinearity. Sample not weighted, variables recoded as per Appendix A.

Table 8.20 Test of model effects, attitudes towards turning back the boats, AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013 (ordered logistic regression)

	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig
Party identification	68.878	5	.000
Strength of party identification	3.204	2	.201
Compulsory voting	18.737	1	.000
Care which party wins	9.458	1	.002
Interest in politics	43.197	1	.000
Educational attainment	459.382	3	.000
Occupation category	3.423	3	.331
Income level	3.636	2	.162
Gender	2.444	1	.118
Place of birth	.216	1	.642
Place of residence	56.980	1	.000
Year	58.076	3	.000
Political knowledge	34.838	1	.000
Age	19.943	1	.000
Gender *x* age	5.377	1	.020
Party identification *x* strength of identification	62.610	10	.000

Data source: AES 2001, 2004, 2010, 2013.

List of abbreviations

AAPOR	American Association for Public Opinion Research
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACBPS	Australian Customs and Border Protection Service
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
ADA	Australian Data Archive
AEC	Australian Electoral Commission
AES	Australian Election Study
AFR	Australian Financial Review
ANU	Australian National University
ANZSCO	Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations
ASCO	Australian Standard Classification of Occupations
ATO	Australian Tax Office
AuSSA	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia Incorporated
IPAS	Immigration and Political Affiliation Study
IRO	International Refugee Organization
JSCEM	Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters: Australian Government
LITO	Low Income Tax Offset
MOAD	Museum of Australian Democracy
MV	Merchant vessel
RA	Reclaim Australia
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
SIEV	Suspected illegal entry vessel
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
TMO	The Migration Observatory – University of Oxford
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WBD	World Bank Data

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